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BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

MONOGRAPHS

Monograph Series, Vol. XII

THE "CHANSON D'AVENTURE" IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

BY

HELEN ESTABROOK SANDISON

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PREFACE

The following study, practically as it stands, was presented to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in May, 1911, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Beginning with an examination of the conventional narrative preface found in a number of the lyrics of Harleian ms. 2253 and the Vernon ms., it was soon extended to include a study of the whole group of Middle English lyrics possessing such a preface, and of the early French *chansons* whence they are derived. The results of that investigation are here set forth. The preliminary discussion of the French originals is based chiefly on the researches of Gaston Paris and M. Jeanroy, and on the collection of *chansons d'aventure* contained in Bartsch's *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen*; it stands as a mere summary of the chief points necessary to furnish a basis of comparison with the English derivatives, and makes no claim to exhaustiveness. The discussion of the Middle English development of the type is based on a group of one hundred and thirty-four lyrics, which seem, after careful consideration, to fulfil most thoroughly the formal requirements set by the French prototypes; these are classified in Appendix B in four groups, Amorous, Religious, Didactic, and Miscellaneous, with references to all known manuscript and printed sources for each poem. Twelve of the lyrics, which have not been printed elsewhere, so far as I know, appear in Appendix A. Appendix C presents a list of pieces cited, chiefly in the notes, as examples of *chansons d'aventure* dating later than 1550, or as examples of other Middle English types comparable in certain features to the *chanson d'aventure* type.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge my great obligations to

those who have assisted me in the preparation of this dissertation. To Professor Carleton Brown, of Bryn Mawr College, I am most indebted. He first suggested to me the subject of this investigation, and he has assisted me throughout my work by supplying many important references and helpful suggestions, by carefully criticising the dissertation in manuscript, and by going over the proof sheets. From his unfailing interest and enthusiasm I have received constant encouragement. I am also under obligations to Professor Upham, of Bryn Mawr College, who has kindly read the book in proof.

I take this opportunity also to express my gratitude for most generous assistance to the authorities of the British Museum, the Cambridge University Library, the Bodleian Library, and the College of Arms, to the magistrates of the Corporation of Tenterden, who allowed me to examine the oldest record book, to Lord Harlech, who very kindly sent the Porkington ms. to Oxford that I might there examine it and make transcripts from it, to Father William Bodkin, S. J., Rector of Stonyhurst College, who courteously provided me with a transcript from Stonyhurst ms. No. 23, and to the librarians of Columbia University and of Bryn Mawr College.

H. E. S.

BRYN MAWR, PA.,
April, 1913.

REGISTER OF ABBREVIATED TITLES

[This register presents merely a selected list of titles referred to in the notes and the Appendices by abbreviated titles requiring explanation.]

Bann. MS. Hunt. Club.—*The Bannatyne Manuscript Compiled by George Bannatyne, 1568.* Printed for the Hunterian Club. Glasgow, 1873-1881.

Bartsch.—*Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen.* Herausgegeben von Karl Bartsch. Leipzig, 1870.

Bartsch, Chrest.—*Chrestomathie de l'Ancien Français, (VIIIe-XVe Siècles).* Par Karl Bartsch. Septième Édition, Revue et Corrigée Par A. Horning. Leipzig, 1901.

Böddker, Altengl. Dicht.—*Altenglische Dichtungen des MS. Harl. 2253.* Herausgegeben von K. Böddker. Berlin, 1878.

Buke of the Howlat.—*The Buke of the Howlat, in Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas.* Edited by F. J. Amours. Scot. Text Soc. Edinburgh and London, 1897, pp. 47 ff.

✓ *Chambers, Med. Lyric.*—*Some Aspects of Mediæval Lyric.* By E. K. Chambers (in Chambers and Sidgwick, pp. 259 ff.)

Chambers and Sidgwick.—*Early English Lyrics, Amorous, Divine, Moral and Trivial.* Chosen by E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick. London, 1907.

Chappell. Old Engl. Pop. Music.—*Old English Popular Music.* William Chappell. New (revised) edition by H. Ellis Wooldridge. London and New York, 1893.

Charles d'Orléans.—*Poésies Complètes de Charles d'Orléans.* Par Charles d'Héricault. Paris, 1874.

Child, Ballads.—*The English and Scottish Popular Ballads.* Edited by F. J. Child. Boston and New York, 1882-1898.

Deschamps.—*Œuvres Complètes de Eustache Deschamps.* Publiées par le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire et G. Raynaud. Soc. des Anc. Textes Fr. Paris, 1878-1903.

- Dunbar, ed. Laing.—*The Poems of William Dunbar, now first collected.* With Notes, and a Memoir of his Life, by D. Laing. Edinburgh, 1834.
- Dunbar, Scot. Text Soc.—*The Poems of William Dunbar.* Edited by John Small. Introduction by Æ. J. G. Mackay. Scot. Text Soc. Edinburgh and London, 1893.
- Dyboski, Ball. MS. 354.—*Songs, Carols, and other Miscellaneous Poems, from the Balliol MS. 354, Richard Hill's commonplace-Book.* Edited by R. Dyboski. E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. CI. London, 1907.
- Flügel, Engl. Weihnachtslieder.—*Englische Weihnachtslieder aus einer Handschrift des Balliol College zu Oxford.* Mitgeteilt von E. Flügel. (In *Forschungen zur deutschen Philologie.* Festgabe für Rudolf Hildebrand. Leipzig, 1894, pp. 52 ff.).
- Flügel, Neuengl. Leseb.—*Neuenglisches Lesebuch nach den Handschriften und Ältesten Drucken.* Herausgegeben von E. Flügel. 1. Band. *Die Zeit Heinrichs VIII.* Halle a. S. 1895.
- Furnivall, Captain Cox.—*Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books; or Robert Laneham's Letter.* Re-edited by F. J. Furnivall. Printed for the Ballad Society. London, 1871.
- Furnivall, Early Engl. Poems.—*Early English Poems and Lives of Saints.* Copied and edited by F. J. Furnivall. Published for the Philological Society. Berlin, 1862.
- Gude and Godlie Ballatis.—*A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs Commonly Known as 'The Gude and Godlie Ballatis.'* Reprinted from the edition of 1567. Edited by A. F. Mitchell. Scottish Text Society. Edinburgh and London, 1897.
- Halliwell, Early Engl. Misc.—*Early English Miscellanies, in Prose and Verse.* Edited by J. O. Halliwell. Warton Club. London, 1855. (Texts from Porkington ms. 10.)
- Halliwell, Lydgate's Minor Poems.—*A Selection from the Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate.* Edited by J. O. Halliwell. Percy Soc. II. London, 1840.
- Halliwell, Nugæ Poet.—*Nugæ Poeticæ. Select Pieces of Old English Popular Poetry.* Edited by J. O. Halliwell. London, 1844.

- Haupt, *Fr. Volkslieder.—Französische Volkslieder.* Zusammen gestellt von Moriz Haupt und aus seinem Nachlass Herausgegeben. Leipzig, 1877.
- Henryson, Scot. Text Soc.—*The Poems of Robert Henryson.* Edited by G. G. Smith. Scottish Text Society. Edinburgh and London, 1906, 1908.
- Herrig's Archiv.—*Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen.* Braunschweig, 1846 to date.
- Hymns to V. and C.—Hymns to the Virgin and Christ, The Parliament of Devils, and other Religious Poems, Chiefly from the Archbishop of Canterbury's Lambeth MS. No. 863.* Edited by F. J. Furnivall. E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 24. London, 1867. [Reprinted 1895.]
- Järnström, *Rec. de Chansons Pieuses.—Recueil de Chansons Pieuses du XIII^e Siècle.* Publiées par E. Järnström. 1. Helsingfors, 1910. Imprimerie de la Société de Littérature Finnoise.
- Jeanroy, *Chansons.—Les Chansons.* Par Alfred Jeanroy. Ch. v, vol. 1 of *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française.* Publiée sous la direction de L. Petit de Jullville. Paris, 1896-1899.
- Jeanroy, *Origines.—Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen-Age.* Par A. Jeanroy. Paris, 1889. [Second edition, 1904.]
- Laing, *Early Pop. Poetry.—Early Popular Poetry of Scotland and the Northern Border.* Edited by D. Laing [under the titles, *Select Remains*, etc., and *Early Metrical Tales*, etc.] in 1822 and 1826. Re-arranged and revised by W. C. Hazlitt. London, 1895.
- Laing, *Select Remains.—Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland.* Edited by D. Laing, 1822. Re-edited by J. Small. Edinburgh, 1885.
- Lydgate, ed. MacCracken. *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate.* Edited by H. N. MacCracken. Part 1. *The Lydgate Canon; Religious Poems.* E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. ovii. London and Oxford, 1911.
- Minor Poems Vernon MS. II.—The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* Part II. Edited by F. J. Furnivall. E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 117. London, 1901.

Neilson, *Court of Love*.—*The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*. By W. A. Neilson. *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, VI. Boston, 1899.

Padelford, XVI. *Cent. Lyrics*.—*Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*. Edited by F. M. Padelford. Belles-Lettres Series. Boston and London, 1907.

Parducci.—*La Canzone de "Mal Maritata" in Francia nei Secoli XV-XVI*. A. Parducci. *Rom.* xxxviii. pp. 286 ff.

Paris, *Chansons*.—*Chansons du XV^e Siècle*. Publiées par G. Paris. Soc. des Anc. Textes Fr. Paris, 1875.

Paris, *Origines*, I, II.—*Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen Age*. Gaston Paris. (Review of Jeanroy's *Origines*, appearing in four installments: I. *Journal des Savants*, 1891, pp. 674 ff., 729 ff. II. *Ibid.*, 1892, pp. 155 ff., 407 ff.)

Parl. of Thre Ages.—*The Parlement of the Thre Ages, an Alliterative Poem of the XIVth Century*, edited with appendices containing the poem of Wynnere and Wastoure, by I. Gollancz, Roxburghe Club. London, 1897.

Patterson, M. *Engl. Pen. Lyric*.—*The Middle English Penitential Lyric. A Study and Collection of Early Religious Verse*. By F. A. Patterson. New York, 1911.

Percy Folio MS.—*Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript. Ballads and Romances*. Edited by J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall. London, 1867-1868.

Pillet.—*Studien zur Pastourelle*. A. Pillet. (In *Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie*. Breslau, 1902.)

Pinkerton, *Anc. Scot. Poems*.—*Ancient Scottish Poems Published from the MS. Collections of Sir Richard Maitland*. [Edited by John Pinkerton.] London, 1786.

Polit. Relig. and Love Poems.—*Political, Religious, and Love Poems from the Archbishop of Canterbury's Lambeth MS. No. 306 and Other Sources*. Edited by F. J. Furnivall. E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 15. London, 1866. Re-edited 1903.

Pollard, XV. *Cent. Prose and Verse*.—*Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*. With an Introduction by A. W. Pollard. (An English Garner.) New York, n. d.

- Ramsay, *The Ever Green*.—*The Ever Green. Being A Collection of Scots Poems, Wrote by the Ingenious before 1800.* Published by Allen Ramsay. Edinburgh, 1761.
- Raynaud, *Motets*.—*Recueil de Motets Français des XII^e et XIII^e Siècles.* Publiés par G. Raynaud. Paris, 1882, 1884.
- Reed, *Engl. Lyr. Poetry*.—*English Lyrical Poetry from its Origins to the Present Time.* By E. B. Reed. New Haven and London, 1912.
- Rel. Ant.—*Reliquiæ Antiquæ. Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, Illustrating Chiefly Early English Literature and the English Language.* Edited by T. Wright and J. O. Halliwell. London, 1845.
- Rickert, *Carols*.—*Ancient English Christmas Carols, MCCC to MDCC.* Collected and arranged by Edith Rickert. The New Medieval Library. London and New York, 1910.
- Rimbault, *Little Book*.—*A Little Book of Songs and Ballads, Gathered from Ancient Musick Books, MS. and Printed.* By E. F. Rimbault. London, 1851.
- Ritson, *Anc. Songs*.—*Ancient Songs and Ballads from the Reign of King Henry the Second to the Revolution.* Collected by J. Ritson. Third Edition Carefully Revised by W. C. Hazlitt. London, 1877.
- Rom.—*Romania, Recueil Trimestriel Consacré a l'Étude des Langues et des Littératures Romanes.* Paris, 1872 to date.
- Scheler, *Dits et Contes*.—*Dits et Contes de Baudouin de Condé et de Son Fils Jean de Condé.* Publiés par A. Scheler. Bruxelles, 1866-1867.
- Schipper, *William Dunbar*.—*William Dunbar. Sein Leben und Seine Gedichte.* Von Dr. J. Schipper. Berlin, 1884.
- Sibbald, *Chron. Scot. Poetry*.—*Chronicle of Scottish Poetry; from the Thirteenth Century to the Union of the Crowns.* J. Sibbald. Edinburgh, 1802.
- Skeat, *Chauc. Pieces*.—*Chaucerian and Other Pieces.* Edited by W. W. Skeat. Oxford, 1897. Supplement to the *Oxford Chaucer*, 1894.

- Stimming, *Die Motette*.—*Die Altfranzösischen Motette der Bamberger Handschrift*. Herausgegeben von A. Stimming. Gedr. f. d. Gesellsch. f. rom. lit. Bd. XIII. Dresden, 1906.
- Thurau, *Der Refrain*.—*Der Refrain in der französischen Chanson*. G. Thurau. *Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, Heft XXIII. Berlin, 1901.
- Turnbull, *Visions of Tundale*.—*The Visions of Tundale; Together with Metrical Moralizations and Other Fragments of Early Poetry, Hitherto Inedited*. [Edited by W. B. D. D. Turnbull.] Edinburgh, 1843.
- Twenty-six Poems*.—*Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems from the Oxford MSS. Digby 102 and Douce 322*. Edited by J. Kail. Part I. E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 124. London, 1904.
- Wright, *Songs and Ball*. Roxb. Club.—*Songs and Ballads, With Other Short Poems, Chiefly of the Reign of Philip and Mary*. Edited by T. Wright. [Roxburghe Club.] London, 1860. (Texts from ms. Ashmole 48.)
- Wright, *Songs and Carols*, 1836.—*Songs and Carols, Printed from a Manuscript in the Sloane Collection in the British Museum*. Edited by T. Wright. London, 1836. (Twenty texts from Sloane ms. 2593.)
- Wright, *Songs and Carols, Percy Soc.*—*Songs and Carols, Now First Printed, from a Manuscript of the Fifteenth Century*. Edited by T. Wright. Percy Soc. XXIII. London, 1847. (Texts from ms. Bodl. Engl. Poet. e. 1.)
- Wright, *Songs and Carols, Warton Club*.—*Songs and Carols from a Manuscript in the British Museum of the Fifteenth Century*. Edited by T. Wright. [Warton Club.] London, 1856. (Texts from ms. Sloane 2593.)
- Wright. *Spec. Lyr. Poetry*.—*Specimens of Lyric Poetry, Composed in England in the Reign of Edward the First*. Edited from ms. Harl. 2253, by T. Wright. Percy Soc. iv. London, 1842.
- Wynnere and Wastoure*. Cf. *Parl. of Thre Ages*, above.

I

INTRODUCTION

A. THE *Chanson d'Aventure*: DEFINITION OF THE TYPE

The prevailing seriousness of early English poetry is notably lightened at the beginning of the fourteenth century by a group of lyrics,¹ many of which celebrate the theme that "lenten ys come wiþ loue to tounne." Among them a certain type of song insistently challenges our attention,—the type in which the poet tells us that as he fared on a spring morning through the forest, or as he rode by Rybbesdale, he met a "wel feyr" maid to whom he straightway offered his devotion. Sometimes he relates that, as he rode, his heart was filled with love-longing for a Maiden, his joy and his "beste play," who was able "þurh hire bysechyng" to bring him to the bliss of heaven. The precedent set by these early wayfarers is not disregarded. Lovers-errant are silent, it is true, during more than a century after the day of the Harleian manuscript; but in the meantime their devout brothers continue to tell of divine events in which they have some share; one woos the blessed Virgin, in the guise of a bird, in the forest, and another watches the Maiden-mother lulling her little Son. In the same period sermonizing adventurers are even more numerous. A fourteenth century clerk passing by a woodside hears a bird discoursing on amends-making; a successor in the fifteenth

¹ Harl. ms. 2253, c. 1310, ed. Bøddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.*

century listens to an old man's sombre disquisition on worldly vanity. The clerks, in fact, hold the monopoly in these woodland adventures until Tudor times, when they make way for worldly poets who listen in the wilderness to the laments of love-lorn Besse or of a lady fallen from royal grace.

These short narratives are always introduced by phrases that are manifestly conventional.

Als i me rode this endre dai
o mi [pleyinge],

is the formula used by a poet who hears the sad love-song of a little maiden.

Ase y me rod þis ender day
by grene wode to seche play,

are the words with which Mary's devout adorer begins his song. The sermon on amends is prefaced by the obviously mendacious remark:

Bi a wode as I gon ryde
Walkynge al miself alone.

The form that is the common inheritance of all these lyrics has two distinguishing features: the poet introduces himself by means of a short narrative preface; he pretends that he himself witnesses or participates in the action that he reports. The songs are therefore narrative and dramatic. They are at the same time lyric in form and in spirit, with the exception of those modifications that employ the conventional setting merely as formal preface to didactic themes.

An adequate name for so complex a form is not easy to find. Though French scholars have recognized the framework as a common feature of two different types of Old French lyric,²—the *chanson dramatique* and the *pastourelle*,

² Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 9, 84 ff.; *Chansons*, pp. 348, 352.

—they have not suggested any term to designate the single category to which both types, by virtue of that framework, belong. The only available term is that recently proposed by Chambers.³ In his review of the Middle English lyrics and their French sources, he suggests that the French poems in question be called *chansons d'aventure*,⁴—a phrase which he subsequently applies to the analogous poetic forms in England. For the type as a whole, the name is appropriate, in that it not only indicates the peculiar combination of narrative and dramatic with lyric elements, but also emphasizes the adventure, which is a structural essential. In the case of the English poems the employment of a foreign term is perhaps less satisfactory; but no English equivalent exists, and "*chanson d'aventure*" defies translation into a convenient English phrase. The aptness and convenience of the French term accordingly outweigh the single objection that may be urged against it. Moreover there is a certain advantage in a constant reminder that the origin of the English form is to be found among the lyrics composed over-sea.

B. THE *Chanson d'Aventure* IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE

The foreign songs echoed by the Middle English *chansons d'aventure*⁵ appear in Northern France during the twelfth

³ *Med. Lyric*, p. 266.

⁴ This use of '*chanson d'aventure*' is to be distinguished from the occasional employment of the same phrase to designate the long roman *d'aventure*; e. g., *Florence de Rome*, ed. Wallensköld, *Soc. des Anc. Textes Fr.*, title-page.

⁵ The relationship of the English songs to the French has often been noted; cf. Aust, *Herrig's Archiv*, LXX. p. 286; Lauchert, *Engl. Stud.* XVI. pp. 140 ff.; Padelford, *XVI. Cent. Lyrics*, pp. xxxvi ff.; Chambers, *Med. Lyric*, pp. 274 f.; Patterson, *M. Engl. Pen. Lyric*, pp. 37 ff.; Reed, *Engl. Lyr. Poetry*, Ch. II; etc.

century.⁶ They speedily achieve a high popularity; their prime is already past, their period of elaboration, modification, and decline is already well on its way, by the beginning of the fourteenth century,—the time at which the English derivatives first appear in the manuscripts. But the tradition represented by the French songs persists; it is continued by Froissart, made use of by Deschamps and Charles d'Orléans, and echoed among the popular songs of the fifteenth and succeeding centuries.

The French lyrics of adventure possess certain affinities with popular song, and are in fact based upon it, as Gaston Paris has demonstrated.⁷ The themes—the love-lament of a young girl, the happy talk of meeting lovers—preserve *motifs* characteristic of folk-poetry; further evidence for a connection with primitive popular song exists in the predominance given to the woman's point of view in the portrayal of love, and the insistence on the joy of returning Spring found in some of the refrains and echoed even in the stereotyped setting. The framework that encloses these originally popular themes is, nevertheless, clearly the contribution of professional poets. The *jongleur* was probably the first to adopt the songs from popular tradition and to embellish them with a narrative prelude in which he himself appeared; from him the convention passed to the *trouvère*.⁸

⁶ The summary view of the French *chansons d'aventure* is based on Jeanroy, *Origines and Chansons*, and Paris, *Origines*, all *passim*. For the *pastourelle*, cf. particularly Pillet; for the late development of the *chanson de mal mariée*, Parducci.

⁷ The theory that the ultimate origin of all French lyric poetry is in the songs sung in Poitou and Limousin by women at the popular *fêtes de mai* may be accepted with some reservation as far as it concerns the *chansons d'aventure* (which belong to the so-called *poésie populaire*) whether or not for the *chanson courtoise*; cf. Bedier, *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, cxxxv. pp. 160 ff.; Voretzsch, *Einführ. in d. Stud. d. altfr. Lit.* pp. 188-196; Warren, *Mod. Philol.* ix. p. 469; Reed, *Engl. Lyr. Poetry*, p. 25.

⁸ The *trouvère* occasionally prefaces the *chanson d'aventure* with the

The enthusiasm with which these conscious artists adopted the form is probably attributable in part to the pleasure which they obtained from mingling in pretense with the denizens of a humbler world before whom they might exploit their greater sophistication.

The manner in which the French poet ushers himself upon the scene is traditional. As a rule he mentions the day, usually *l'autrier* or *l'autre jour*,⁹ and the hour, regularly near dawn;¹⁰ he names or suggests the season (almost always *le douz tens nouvel*), often investing it with much grace:

En mai la rosee que nest la flor,
que la rose est bele au point du jor.¹¹

conventional opening, characteristic of the courtly *chanson d'amour*:

Au nouviau tens que nest la violete
par mi les bos et mainte autre florete
sospris de novele amor
vueil faire chanconete;
si la ferai sans sejour
cortoise et mignotete.
avant ier au point du jor

errai ma sentelete (III. 45).

Cf. also I. 46; cf. I. 66, III. 52, I. 52, end. (The reference to French texts in this note and those following are to Bartsch, unless otherwise indicated.)

⁹In approximately half of the *chansons d'aventure*. Frequent variants: *avant hier*, etc., I. 48, 43, II. 50; *un jour*, etc., II. 17; *par un matin*, etc., I. 70. In later adaptations: *n'a pas long temps*, etc. (Deschamps, III. pp. 47, 56, 345, x. p. lxxii; Charles d'Orléans, II. p. 168); also definite week-days or feast-days (I. 34, III. 59 and 60, Froissart; Deschamps, x. p. lxxvii, III. p. 251; cf. *le premier jour de mai*, I. 69, III. 29, Charles d'Orléans, I. p. 79, II. pp. 122, 214); *awen*, III. 57 (Froissart); *un jour de l'autre semaine*, III. 44 (Moniot de Paris); *ceste année presente*, Charles d'Orléans, I. p. 120 (and cf. II. p. 169). Descriptions of the day are rarely added; cf. III. 23.

¹⁰*A l'ajornee, un petit devant le jor*, etc.; Bartsch, p. xiii, I. 38. Less definitely *par un matin, main*, etc., I. 64, II. 105. A later hour is sometimes implied; cf. I. 61, etc. Instances of evening encounters are rare; cf. I. 48, II. 28, I. 23, and Raynaud, *Motets*, I. p. 178, where *au serain* contradicts *par I main*; *Vieux Noël*s, Nantes, 1876, III. 90 (*l'autre nuit*); Haupt, *Fr. Volkslieder*, p. 126.

¹¹II. 62. The month is usually May (I. 27; *Rom.* VIII. p. 336); less

He appears¹² alone,¹³ riding, or less often walking,¹⁴ by a wood or along a meadow-side,¹⁵ *lons de gent*; ¹⁶ he is *pensis*

often April (I. 30 a, b, 39, II. 21, 112, III. 8, 25); rarely *aoust* (III. 25, II. 73; Deschamps, III. p. 62). The season is indicated by *le tens novel*, *la comancement d'este*, etc. (I. 46, II. 24; cf. II. 22); more pedantically (in an early religious parallel, Bartsch, *Chr  st.* p. 62): *Quant li solleis converset en leon, en icel tens qu'es ortus pliadon*. Summer is rare (cf. I. 21, I. 20, I. 52, II. 24, 105); winter is substituted (II. 17, 23, III. 1) to vary a trite convention, not to fit the mood of the poem. When the season is described, there is usually some suggestion of Spring's power to bring joy and the longing to love (II. 22), to move birds to song (II. 15), and to bring forth tender grass and buds (I. 46); but later texts tend to prosaic elaboration (cf. III. 25, and Deschamps, III. p. 62: *Ou moys d'aoust qu'om soye les fromens*).

¹² *Quant je (me) chevachoie, si com j'aloie pansant* (I. 49, 39) represent one formula, but the simple preterite (*chevauchai*, I. 39) is much more common. Sometimes the poet's presence is first indicated by the verb that introduces the encounter (*oi, vi, trouvat, choisit*, I. 27, 36, 48, 50) or the poet's approach (*vois la veoir*, III. 51; cf. II. 57). (*Me*) *levai* replaces (II. 12) or more commonly introduces (I. 38) the verb of motion.

¹³ *Tot seus, senz compaignie*, etc., I. 49, 37.

¹⁴ He definitely alludes to his riding in more than half the *chansons*. Most often he uses the verb *chevauchai*; frequently he mentions the horse (*cheval, palefroi, morel*) from which he dismounts (I. 40) and which he ties to a tree (II. 18, 58). Substitutes for *chevauchai* are *aloie, aloie errant, erroie* (I. 44, III. 4, I. 42) and *traversai, alai les (un bouchet)*, etc. (I. 65, II. 50). The use of these verbs (as also *oi, vi*, etc.) does not necessarily imply that the poet is not riding; cf. I. 65, III. 36, where the horse is mentioned, and II. 8 (*m'alai chevalchant*). An inactive poet is rare: cf. I. 61 (*ere, oi*), I. 27 (*oi, m'assis, m'i endormi*), I. 52.

¹⁵ The scene is almost never *en mi forest* (II. 28). Cf. the frequent use of *lez, joste, pres, defors* (I. 39, II. 11, 75); *lons l'oriere de l'aunoi* (II. 49; cf. III. 2, 12, II. 111, I. 64); *entre un bois et un pre* (II. 105, cf. II. 22). The scene is often the *bois* (II. 11), *bois ki verdoie* (II. 46), but more often the *boschel*, etc. (II. 22, 48, III. 36); *vergier*, I. 29 (even *en mi forest*, II. 28); *jardin*, I. 30 a, etc.; *rozier*, I. 70. The forest is very rare; cf. I. 65, II. 28, and the symbolic *forest d'Ennuyouse Tristesse*, Charles d'Orl  ans, I. p. 82; cf. I. p. 120 and II. pp. 163-169.—For *prael*, cf. II. 20; *un pendant*, etc. (infrequent), II. 2, 63, I. 46, III. 2, 40; *un vaucel*, etc., (infrequent)

*chief enclin*¹⁷ or, somewhat less frequently, *dedusant, juant*,¹⁸ and has come forth to seek distraction:

jouer m'en aloie.¹⁹

When he chances ²⁰ to catch a glimpse of a fair shepherdess

II. 73, III. 15, 43, 58; *le rivage d'une riviere*, I. 39, or *une fontenele*, I. 63, etc. Less definite designations of place are: *ma voie* or *chamin* (II. 6, I. 42); *par une contree*, etc. (III. 3, 25; not frequent). Place-names and land-marks appear, the former frequently; cf. *dchors Paris* (I. 69), *sor la rive de Saine* (I. 68), *entre Biaulieu et la nueve abeis* (I. 65; cf. I. 33, II. 3).—Even in the religious and moral adaptations the scene is in *pree* (Bartsch, p. xiii) or *boscage* (*Rom.* VIII. p. 336). The only allegorical settings are the forests of Charles d'Orléans and his school (cf. references in this note and add, *En la chambre de ma pensée*, I. p. 133).

¹⁷ II. 33; cf. II. 54, III. 28, 37, and the *destor*, II. 18.

¹⁸ II. 4, III. 7; cf. I. 21, 27 and *passim*. The self-conscious *trouvère* is much occupied in these prefaces with his feelings. His pensiveness is often caused by love, I. 44; it is thus explained in I. 51: *pensant a un chant que je fis*; it is spoken of as habitual in II. 33 (*pencis oom suis sovent*). Often it has no ostensible cause. (The love-soliloquy in *chanson d'aventure* form is throughout explanatory of the announced mood.) In some cases sad spirits stand in contradiction to other details of the prelude (I. 69, II. 53); in others they fail to appear even though the selection of a gloomy season might lead us to expect them (II. 17, 23, III. 1). Plainly the poet's pensiveness is traditional.

¹⁹ I. 72, II. 53. Cf. *per grant druerie*, etc., I. 33, II. 92, 111.

²⁰ I. 49; the expression is formulaic. Cf. also *deporteir, deduire, esbanoier, resjoir, pour passer temps* (II. 53, 13, 43, 64; Raynaud, *Rondeaux . . . du XV^e Siècle*, p. 147). Other expressions of motive are: *por oblier ma dolor et por alegier, por moi dedurre et soulaicier* (I. 38, 70); *por oir les chans de ces oxillons* (II. 2; cf. I. 29), *por la verdor* (I. 61; cf. I. 30 a, b), *coillir la flor* (I. 38; cf. I. 73). The quest is sometimes definitely amorous; cf. the poet who would *faire novele amie*, II. 78 (cf. I. 44). Sometimes it is aimless: cf. *chevauchai . . . comme aventure gent maine* (III. 44; cf. II. 92, 111; Stimming, *Die Motette*, p. 90, no. 19 a).

²¹ The chance nature of the encounter is invariably implied, seldom expressed; cf. *vi par aventure* (II. 19, III. 41). Sometimes the poet, on the watch for diversion, notices the amorous song of the *rosignol* before he chances to see the *pucelete* or *dame* and *chevelier* (I. 52, 70).

or a *dame*²¹ who sits *tote soule*²² under a tree,²³ or to hear a bit of her song,²⁴ his adventure has begun. His preliminary action is pre-ordained for him; like all his brother-poets, he must pause, giving himself time to observe and perhaps to describe the woman's beauty.²⁵ He may then approach, secretly or openly, the better to see or to hear.²⁶ When he greets her in God's name,²⁷ when he plies her with questions,—who is she, and why does she sing?²⁸—he is sometimes rebuked for his impertinence, but is more often courteously

²¹ The central figure is regularly a woman, usually a shepherdess (II. 15, III. 23; *Perrenelle, Ermenjon, touse, pucele*, II. 1, 13, 10, I. 29) but frequently *dame, damoiselle*, etc. (I. 44, 70). There may be two or three women (I. 48, 21), or a woman and her husband or lover (I. 35, 63), or a *pastor* or *chevalier* by substitution (II. 54, I. 61).—In religious adaptations appear Mary or the Cross (Bartsch, p. xiii, *Rom.* VIII. p. 336), the latter being the only instance known to me of an inanimate object as central figure. Symbolic figures (*le deu d'amor*, etc., I. 30 b, II. 2) and birds, notably the *rosignolet* (I. 27, etc.), appear.

²² II. 18; *sanz compaignon*, etc. (II. 17, 28).

²³ The kind of tree is usually specified; cf. *desoz un pin*, etc. (I. 29, II. 28, and cf. Pillet, pp. 97, 101). But cf. *soz la raine, soz une arbroie*, etc. (II. 65, I. 37). The place is *en un pre, an un destor, pres d'un voie* (I. 21, 41, II. 22, 23). Occasionally the person met is wandering: *aloit joie menant* (II. 61).

²⁴ The person met usually sings. The song often constitutes the recurring burden (II. 56: *Robin turelcure Robinet*), sometimes prefixed (I. 45). In I. 27 the burden, *saderala don*, etc., is suggested by the nightingale's song, though it is not certainly intended to represent it. The girl weeps or guards her flock (II. 14). She never "comes riding." (The fanciful maiden of I. 28, who *chevauchoit une mule*, is not the heroine of a *chanson d'aventure*; the *deu d'amors* in I. 30 b rides).

²⁵ II. 50, 31, 45. The description, usually very brief, but sometimes more elaborate, presents the traditional *euz vairs, cler vis*, etc.; the poet never saw a fairer (II. 15) and is rejoiced at her beauty (I. 50; so Gautier de Coincy, Bartsch, p. xiii; sadness follows the sight of the Cross, *Rom.* VIII. p. 336).

²⁶ Secretly, I. 65; openly, I. 49. *Vois la veoir*, III. 51, cf. II. 63; *por oir sa dolor*, I. 61. Very often the *chevalier* seats himself near the *pastore*, II. 18.

²⁷ II. 40, I. 68.

²⁸ II. 59, 7.

received.²⁹ In this manner he leads up to the action that he has chosen to present.³⁰

The type of action presented furnishes the basis for distinction between the two main kinds of *chanson d'aventure*,—the *chansons dramatiques* and the *pastourelles*.³¹ The themes

²⁹ Cf. *fuies de oi*, III. 13. (When she would flee, she is forcibly detained, II. 15).—*Deux grant joie vos dont*, I. 46, etc.

³⁰ Many settings, especially those of less primitive type, omit one or more of the features just reviewed; often they retain no echo of the early theme of earth's *renouveau*:

L'autrier une pastorele
trovai seant en un pre (III. 17),

or,

L'autrier quant me chevalchoie
tout droit d'Arraz a Doai
une pastoure trovoie (III. 32).

II. 67 opens with the song of a *pucelete*, followed abruptly by, *Vers la touze m'avancee*; cf. III. 51:

L'autrier pastoure seoit
lone un buisson.

.
Quant je l'oi gaimenter
vois la veoir.

Cf. also II. 3, 57; and the *ballade* of Guillebin de Lannoy (*sæo.* xv. beg.), *Rom.* XXXIX. p. 357: *L'autrier une dame entendy*.

³¹ The term *chanson dramatique* (used by Jeanroy, *Origines*, and Chambers, *Med. Lyric*) covers the same subdivision of *chansons d'aventure* as Paris's phrase, *chanson à personnages* (cf. Paris, *Origines*, I. p. 681). Neither term is wholly satisfactory, inasmuch as the *pastourelle* may be properly described as a "dramatic lyric," or a song in which the action of *personnages* is reported. The name *chanson dramatique* has, however, become firmly associated with the definite type in question; it seems the wiser course to adopt it, reserving *chanson à personnages* to denote the whole class of objective *chansons*, including *chanson d'aventure* (*chanson dramatique* and *pastourelle*), *aube*, *chanson d'histoire*, etc. (So Aubry, *Trouvères et Troubadours*, p. 34.) It is unwise to use *chanson de mal mariée* as synonymous with *chanson dramatique*—cf. Padelford, *XVI. Cent. Lyrics*, p. xxxvi—since the song of the *mal mariée* furnishes the theme for but one type of *chanson dramatique*, and since it sometimes exists quite independent of the

that characterize the former class betray a closer connection with popular poetry than does the *pastourelle* theme. Either a woman's monologue forms the kernel of the *chanson dramatique*,³² or a dialogue or scene in which the woman's part is usually dominant,³³ or—in a small group standing somewhat nearer than the ordinary *chanson d'aventure* to the primitive *chanson de mai*—the song of the nightingale in praise of springtime and love.³⁴ In the *chanson dramatique*, moreover, the poet's rôle has not been so far extended that it is essential; it is that of silent witness, casual questioner, or officious counsellor,³⁵ but never that of chief actor.

The variety of *chanson dramatique* in which the poet overhears the lament of a young girl repeats a very primitive theme of French lyric poetry.³⁶ The form in which the woman longing for love makes her plaint:

amie sui senz ami,

suggested by a few early *chansons dramatiques* and a number of refrains and later *chansons*,³⁷ is much less frequent than that in which the forsaken maiden laments:

framework of the *chanson dramatique*.—*Chanson dramatique* is here taken to include all *chansons d'aventure* in which the poet is primarily only observer and narrator,—i. e., all that are concerned with love-laments, love-dialogues, rustic scenes, etc.; the term *pastourelle* is limited to the "classic type" in which the poet plays the wooer; cf. Paris, *Origines*, I. pp. 730, 734 ff.; Pillet, pp. 122 ff.

³² I. 51.

³³ I. 45, II. 53, 112.

³⁴ I. 27, 30 a, 66; cf. I. 29, 30 b, 52.

³⁵ I. 42, II. 54, I. 43, 61.

³⁶ *Pastourelle* (III. 38), *dame* (I. 40, 43), etc. Monologues of happy love are not found among the *chansons d'aventure*; but cf. a suggestion of the theme of successful love, III. 33, 37, II. 115.

³⁷ I. 40, II. 24. Cf. Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 182 ff. In the fifteenth century *chansons* the girl's demand is more definite than in the earlier pieces; cf. *S'ils ne me marient, ils s'en repentiront*, and *Ma mère, je veux Robin*, etc. (*ibid.*, p. 185).

dieus, j'ai perdu mon amiet.³⁸

Sometimes the deserted girl expresses grief and jealousy because her wooer, who has vowed loyalty, has abandoned her; sometimes she frankly alludes to her betrayal.³⁹ Now and then she casts reproach upon the false lover:

or mais en soit pais
il est mauvais.⁴⁰

Often she allows the *chevalier* to console her.⁴¹ Occasionally the lover himself tardily appears, with the result that the lament receives a happy ending.⁴²

The most common form of *chanson dramatique* centers about the song of the *femme mal mariée*, who protests, in the season sacred to love, against her loveless union with a *vilain*.⁴³ The mutinous spirit of her lament has in it something of the *naïveté* of folk-song; the immorality of her rebellious outcry:

honis soit maris ki dure plus d'une mois!⁴⁴

is not conscious and deliberate. Though the poets look upon the mismated woman with a slightly ironic smile,⁴⁵ they do not compose their *chansons de mal mariée* as satires,

³⁸ I. 43.

³⁹ I. 43, II. 7.

⁴⁰ III. 38; cf. III. 6 (ll. 44-45), 19 (ll. 22-24).

⁴¹ III. 19. Beginning as a maiden's lament, the poem is thus converted into a *pastourelle* by the intrusion of the poet-wooer; cf. II. 7, 67.

⁴² II. 112; cf. I. 33, 34 (by the lover's entry rendered transitional to the love-scenes).

⁴³ The *femme* is usually a *dame* (I. 42), but at times a *pastourelle* (II. 27) or merely a *belle et jouene* (I. 54). Though she is obviously not a noble *dame* of the *chevalier*'s class (witness his disrespectful treatment of her) she feels herself superior to the *vilain* (I. 38, 42) and worthy of an *ami gent* (I. 39).

⁴⁴ II. 27.

⁴⁵ I. 36, 47. (Cf. I. 43, lament of a forsaken girl, ll. 45-46.)

serious or comic, directed either against the dissatisfied wives or against marriage as an institution.⁴⁶

Five types of *chanson de mal mariée* are distinguished by Paris: ⁴⁷ the poet listens to (1) the woman's uninterrupted lament, (2) her dispute with her husband, (3) her interview with her lover, (4) her interchange of grievances with one or more *confidentes*, (5) her lament, which he interrupts with advice or consolation.⁴⁸ Among the fifteenth century songs appears a variation, the protest of a prospective *mal mariée*, a girl about to be wedded to an unwelcome husband.⁴⁹

The attitude of the woman, in all these types, presents certain conventional features. The *mariée de novel* ⁵⁰ rebels against her husband as a *vilain*, a *jaloux*, who spies upon her, beats her, does not fulfil her desires; ⁵¹ she thinks with regret of her wasted youth and good spirits; ⁵² she rejects his loathed possession of her, for which her parents are responsible,⁵³ and utters defiance:

. . . vilains, donee
suix a vous, se poice mi;
mais par la virge honoree,
pues ke me destraingneis ci,
je ferai novel ami,
a cui qui voist anuant.

⁴⁶ In the fifteenth century songs the spirit of comedy, burlesque, and satire is more evident; cf. Parducci, nos. 2, 3, 14, etc. (These songs of the *mal mariée* are often not *chansons d'aventure*.)

⁴⁷ *Origines*, I. p. 682.

⁴⁸ When he offers his love in consolation, the situation is converted into that typical of the *pastourelle* (cf. I. 64; Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 92).

⁴⁹ Parducci, nos. 1, 7, 11. The *genre* stands midway between the *chanson de jeune fille* and the *chanson de mal mariée*.

⁵⁰ I. 21, 45.

⁵¹ I. 47, 41, 45; Paris, *Chansons*, nos. 119, 121; Parducci, no. 13.

⁵² I. 51, Parducci, no. 13. The unmarried girl prefers care-free pleasures to the burdens, restrictions, and economies of the married state; nos. 1, 7.

⁵³ I. 42, l. 5, I. 64; Paris, *Chansons*, no. 121.

moi et li irons juant;
si doublerait la folie.⁵⁴

She does not stifle the wish for the husband's death:

li jalous
envious
de cor rous
morra.⁵⁵

She expresses these rebellious thoughts as frankly to the husband ⁵⁶ as to herself or to her lover; ⁵⁷ or she confides them to a companion, who is usually a woman older than herself, more extreme in her hatred of the *mari salvage*, and more expert in outwitting him.⁵⁸ In one instance ⁵⁹ three ⁶⁰ *mariées de novel* are assembled, gaily garlanded, *en un pre lons un destour*; the prying poet hears the youngest singing in misguided innocence:

je servirai mon mari
lealment en leu d'ami,

whereupon the eldest in anger rebukes her, would even strike her, and cries:

je ferai novel ami
an despit de mon mari,

and *la moienne* sings:

⁵⁴ I. 45. With *ferai novel ami*, cf. I. 21, 36, 39; also I. 35, l. 11, I. 48, l. 20; etc.

⁵⁵ I. 51. Cf. I. 38, l. 71; Parducci, no. 4, cf. no. 7; also the fragment from an English MS., *Anglia*, xxx. p. 174.

⁵⁶ I. 35.

⁵⁷ I. 38.

⁵⁸ I. 67, 39.

⁵⁹ I. 21.

⁶⁰ Cf. the *troys dames* in a late song suggestive of the *chanson de mal mariée*, and the *troys jeunes damoiselles* in a late echo of the *pastourelles*: Paris, *Chansons*, nos. 88, 21. The usual number is two; cf. I. 36, 47, 48; Parducci, no. 2.

s'on trovast leal ami
ja n'eusse pris mari.

The place of the lamenting *fille* or *mal mariée* is taken in modified forms by the lover⁶¹ or the husband, the *mal marié*.⁶² In such cases the poet, though he may be mere reporter, usually offers thoroughly conventional advice.⁶³

Less commonly the author of the *chanson dramatique* overhears not a lament, but a dialogue between two lovers.⁶⁴ In such cases the *ami* is usually a secondary figure, taking a comparatively inconspicuous part,⁶⁵ or by a belated entrance transforming into an amorous dialogue what bids fair to be a maiden's monologue or a *chanson de mal mariée*, or perhaps even a *pastourelle*. In the so-called *pastourelles objectives*⁶⁶—which may be classed as *chansons dramatiques* inasmuch as the poet does not play the wooer—the poet observes scenes of rustic merrymaking or discord. In these scenes traces of the predominance of the woman's part are still discernible.⁶⁷

⁶¹ A *chevalier*, lamenting estrangement from his *dame* caused by *li cuirert jangleor* (I. 61), or a *pastor*, bewailing the inconstancy of his shepherdess (II. 54), or the stern interference of her mother (III. 2). Sadness caused by the lady's death appears only in the *ballade* of Charles d'Orléans, I. p. 82. In III. 33 happy Robin advises the sad poet.

⁶² Parducci, no. 10; cf. no. 3.

⁶³ III. 16, I. 61.

⁶⁴ Usually shepherdess and shepherd; sometimes *damoisele* and *chevalier* (I. 63).

⁶⁵ III. 37, etc., in which the girl is the first to be introduced and described. Cf. the *ballade*, *sæo*. xv. beg. (*Rom.* xxxix. p. 357), which consists wholly in the reproaches of a *dame* to her *compaignon*, a silent auditor. The *débat* evenly divided between two interlocutors (cf. Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 13 ff., 50 ff.) does not appear among the *chansons d'aventure*. (II. 47 lacks the customary *débat*.)

⁶⁶ Paris, *Origines*, I. pp. 733 f.; Pillet, 125. The term is variously applied; usually to a scene enacted by a group of shepherds, but sometimes to any *chanson dramatique* with shepherd actors; cf. Jeanroy's list, *Origines*, p. 42.

⁶⁷ II. 57, III. 29, etc.

The small and somewhat isolated group of *chansons dramatiques* in which the enraptured poet listens to the spring-song of nightingale or lark bears recognizable impress, as has been said, of its popular origin. But the naïve celebration of springtime and of love usually gives place to the formulas of the *chanson courtoise*; the nightingale is wroth that he has been overheard by a *vilain*, he woos a fairy-like maiden in the terms of a courtier, he advises the poet to be loyal in love, and inveighs against *trahitour et mesdisant*.⁶⁸ Only the burden that accompanies the song of the aristocratic nightingale retains something of the popular note:

saderala don!
tant fet bon
dormir lez le buissonet.⁶⁹

The *pastourelle* is the most strictly defined and the most widely represented form of *chanson d'aventure*. In it the aristocratic character of the convention is most obvious. The poet invariably chooses for himself a principal part; as a courtly *chevalier*⁷⁰ he plays the wooer to a shepherdess.⁷¹ He dwells with evident zest upon the gulf between his world and hers. *Je suis fils a chastelain*, he boasts to the girl whom he addresses as *pastorelle*, and who responds with *biaz dous sire* or *chivaliers*; ⁷² he alludes to her poor garments; ⁷³ he disparages her faithful Robin:

queus est amors d'un bregier
qui ne set fors que mengier

⁶⁸ I. 27, 29, 52, 66.

⁶⁹ I. 27.

⁷⁰ In II. 59 the narrator, addressed as *sire*, speaks of himself as *clers*.

⁷¹ A *dame* or *damoiselle* is treated as is the heroine of the ordinary *pastourelle* in certain songs (I. 44, 46, 50, 52; *dame mal mariée*, I. 64, 69) described by Jeanroy (*Origines*, p. 92) as *chansons dramatiques* that have adopted the commonplaces of the *pastourelle*.

⁷² II. 25.

⁷³ III. 43.

et garder pors et aigniaus?
 bele, laissies ses aviaus,
 si vos tenes as damoisiaus.⁷⁴

He urges his suit only as the amusement of an idle hour, and when interrupted or denied, can depart without chagrin, confiding to the reader, like Thibaut de Navarre, *n'oi cure de tel gent!*⁷⁵

His narrative proceeds like that of a hundred other wooers. After he has listened to the song of the shepherdess⁷⁶ he abruptly offers his love.⁷⁷ When persuasion proves necessary, he offers gifts (*robes et biaz joiaus assez*, or *boursete*⁷⁸), he promises high station (*dame seras d'un chastel*⁷⁹), he flatters her,⁸⁰ abuses her shepherd lover,⁸¹ pleads for pity,⁸² assures her—falsely enough, as the event proves—of his sincerity.⁸³ The girl, even if she has greeted him courteously, often makes a show of fear or anger at his proposal, and asks him why he intrudes.⁸⁴ She offers against him an array of arguments:

certes fole seroie
 se je Robin laissez
 por vos ke me lairies demain.⁸⁵

She cares for Robin only, and not a whit for him;⁸⁶ therefore he wastes his words.⁸⁷ She lays on him the command, *ne moi gabaz*,⁸⁸ or,

⁷⁴ III. 18.

⁷⁵ III. 4.

⁷⁶ The woman's lament is given marked prominence in certain *pastourcelles*; cf. II. 7, 67.

⁷⁷ II. 20, 34 (*je vostre amin serai*).

⁷⁸ II. 18, 71.

⁷⁹ III. 1.

⁸⁰ II. 9.

⁸¹ III. 18, 19.

⁸² II. 38 (*mercit vos pri, ou je morrai*).

⁸³ III. 18.

⁸⁴ II. 3, 18 (*Sire, que querez vos ca?*)

⁸⁵ II. 10; cf. II. 45, III. 1.

⁸⁶ II. 17 (*je n'ai de vostre amor cure*).

⁸⁷ III. 14 (*vostre parole gastez*). ⁸⁸ II. 13.

teneis vostre voie
aillors quereis aventure,⁸⁸

and declares:

. . . j'aim miex povre deserte
sous la foille od mon ami
que dame en chambre coverte;
si n'ait on cure de mi.⁸⁹

Or, more humbly, she urges that she is but a poor maiden, who would do no honour to such a gentleman as he,⁹¹ that she is too young, and in danger of a mother's beating should she accept a lover;⁹² if Robin should find her with the new-comer, she would certainly be shamed.⁹³ But in spite of all this protest, the girl usually yields, often quite willingly,⁹⁴ sometimes only when forced to do so.⁹⁵ She accepts her defeat with shame soon banished, or even with satisfaction;⁹⁶ she almost never demands amends.⁹⁷ In a minority of *pastourelles* her resistance is both sincere and effective; in one she calls on the mother of God to aid her:

'ce ne vaut deus noiz,'
fet ele, 'ancois m'ocirroiz.'
et dist 'douce mere de,
gardez moi ma chastee.'⁹⁸

⁸⁸ II. 16; cf. *ales vostre voie*, III. 12, II. 50.

⁸⁹ III. 1.

⁹¹ II. 3; cf. II. 13.

⁹² II. 34.

⁹³ II. 14.

⁹⁴ II. 38.

⁹⁵ II. 62. Cf. II. 1, III. 4. The *dénouement* is often reported with explicitness. In I. 52 (varying also in setting from the norm) the action is checked, after the customary offer and an encouraging response, by a prolonged description of the girl; the closing strophe is in the manner of courtly song (*chanconete, tu iras*, etc.). In II. 63 the girl turns away and joins her lover as soon as she sees the poet dismount and approach her.

⁹⁶ II. 6, I. 44; cf. II. 62.

⁹⁷ II. 6 (*avcs me vos guilee? . . . non ferai, ains m'avrois espousee*).

⁹⁸ III. 25; cf. Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 21, n. 2: "Il n'y a un vrai senti-

The wooer in this instance, though angered, shows her some respect; too often he is ready to ride away, taking his success or failure, her delight or grief, as a light jest.⁹⁹

In an infrequent form, standing much nearer to the courtly lyric than to the purely objective *chanson d'aventure*, the poet offers his own love lament as a substitute for the usual amorous adventure.¹⁰⁰ The sole distinction, in fact, from the *chanson d'amour* lies in the fact that the writer represents his soliloquy as occurring at a definite moment, under definite circumstances, as the outcome of an actual encounter or of a particular mood of his own:

L'autrier au douz mois d'avril, main me levai:
Pensis a mes amours jouer m'en alai,
Dont trop m'esmai,
Quar ne sai
Se ja joie en arai.¹⁰¹

The examples are far from primitive, being found among the *motets*, or among the *ballades* of Charles d'Orléans and his associates, who have embellished their conventional reveries with prefaces echoing those of the older lyrics of adventure.

The secular *chanson d'aventure* was readily, if not very frequently, adapted by the clerks to pious purposes.¹⁰²

ment de pudeur féminine que dans une seule pièce (III. 25), où l'auteur aura sans doute cherché le piquant de la nouveauté."

⁹⁹ II. 6, 62, III. 4.

¹⁰⁰ This variation can be observed in the making as the poet, musing over his love-troubles when he first appears, intrudes to question, to advise, then to woo; in certain cases he has thrust his own love to the fore, by asking or receiving advice of the *pastorelle* or Robin (II. 66, 92, III. 33).

¹⁰¹ Raynaud, *Motets*, I. p. 232. Cf. Stimming, *Die Motette*, p. 86, no. 14 a; Raynaud, *Motets*, II. p. 51 (Bartsch, II. 98), p. 53 (Bartsch, II. 107); Charles d'Orléans, I. p. 31, II. pp. 122, 214.

¹⁰² On religious adaptations of secular forms in France, cf. Morf, *Herrig's Archiv*, CXI. pp. 122 ff.; Bartsch, *Zs. f. rom. phil.* VIII. pp.

Early in the thirteenth century,¹⁰³ Gautier de Coincy skillfully turns the *pastourelle* formula to account in indignantly rebuking those erring clerks who devote themselves to *ces vies pastoureles*, and desert Marie for Marot:

Hui matin a l'ajornee
tote m'ambleure

570 ff.; P. Meyer, *Rom.* xvii. pp. 429 ff.; Jeanroy, *Rom.* xviii. pp. 477 ff., and *Origines, Textes* ix-xiv; Järnström, *Rec. de Chansons Pieuses*, pp. 13-16.

¹⁰³ A fragment of a religious poem dating from the first quarter of the twelfth century (Bartsch, *Chrest.* p. 62, following Paris, *Jb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.* vi. p. 302) or the close of the eleventh (P. Meyer, *Rec. d'Anc. Textes*, p. 206) presents the lament of a maiden (the Church) for her lost lover (Christ). The numbers in parentheses refer to Bartsch.

Quant li solleiz converset en leon
en icel tens qu'es ortus pliadon,
per une matin, (I. 64.)
Une pulcellet odit molt gent plorer (*puceleste*, I. 52, *plorer*, I. 61.)
et son ami dolcement regreter, (I. 72, II. 91, II. 112.)
et si lli dis: (I. 64, l. 8; III. 50, l. 21.)
Gentilz pulcellet, molt t'ai odit plorer
et tum ami dolcement regreter,
et chi est illi? (III. 49, l. 16; I. 64, l. 9.)
La virget fud de bon entendement, (III. 43, ll. 49-50; II. 68, l. 9.)
si respondit molt avenablement (III. 25, ll. 37-38; III. 50, ll. 23-24.)
de son ami:
'Li miens amis il est de tel paraget,' etc.

The analogy with the *chansons d'aventure* common in the later twelfth century is patent. Possibly the peculiar manner in which the author develops the situation furnished by the *Song of Songs* (cf. Paris, *l. c.*, pp. 362-363) is influenced by his knowledge of the amorous adventure-lyrics just entering upon their heritage in the South of France. The pedantic designation of Spring marks him as a clerk conversant with the traditions that later take written shape in the *Carmina Burana*; cf. no. 31 (ed. Schmeller, edit. 2, 1883), p. 115, ll. 3-4 (*calcat Phæbus ungula, dum in taurum flectitur*), also nos. 44, p. 134, ll. 1-2; 54, p. 147, l. 1; 98, p. 177, ll. 6-8; etc. This poem is also possibly an early example of the tradition represented in no. 62, p. 153, a modified Latin *chanson d'aventure* which Pillet (p. 102) considers a pious parody, representing the Church by the *puella*, the clergy by the *pastores*, etc.

chevauchai par une prece
 par bone aventure.
 une flourete ai trouvee
 gente de faiture:

adonc fis vers dusqu'a sis
 de la fleur de paradis.¹⁰⁴

Gautier, though alluding to this encounter as if it were an actual occurrence, avoids the recital of an actual amorous dialogue with Mary, but the author of a devout *pastourelle*,¹⁰⁵ similar to those recommended, as we are told, to Saint Louis' young squire, is less discreet; finding the Virgin in a meadow, he describes her in well-worn phrases of secular poetry:

cler out le vis et le cors gent divino moderamine,
 plus que cristal sont blanc si dent recto loquentur ordine;

he offers his devotion like any worldly lover. This the gracious Maiden-mother accepts, promising to intercede with her Son for her devoted servant. This poem is demonstrably the re-working of an amorous *pastourelle*.¹⁰⁶ The

¹⁰⁴ Bartsch, p. xiii.

¹⁰⁵ *Zs. f. rom. phil.* VIII. p. 573; extract printed by Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 489 (*Texte XIV*).

¹⁰⁶ An amorous *pastourelle*, written in Anglo-Norman and Latin in the thirteenth century (ed. Sachs, *Herrig's Archiv*, XXI. p. 263, and P. Meyer, *Rom.* IV. p. 380), agrees, in part strophe for strophe and word for word, with this religious Franco-Latin *pastourelle*; the Anglo-Norman poem cannot be the original since it is much more abbreviated than the religious version. The two therefore represent a common amorous original, presumably composed in France. Jörnström is not altogether correct in asserting (*Rec. de Chansons Pieuses*, p. 15, n. 1): "Si on la [the religious *pastourelle*] compare avec la *pastourelle* profane, également française-latine, . . on verra que le poète pieux a très servilement parodié la pièce profane." (Pillet pointed out before Jörnström the existence of some verbal agreement, p. 122). Cf. the following lines

few fourteenth century examples are less faithful to their amorous models, less realistic and dramatic. Froissart overhears some shepherds in a formal "argument" relating to the day of St. John the Baptist;¹⁰⁷ an unknown clerk who begins his poem thus:

En mon deduit a moys de may
Pensant aloy juxt' une boscase
Les floures divers devisay
Oseux chauntheantz a lour estage,

tells of encountering *une crois paynte de bele ymage* which inspires him to devout prayer to Mary and her Son.¹⁰⁸ None of the religious adventure-songs completely abandons the device of an actual encounter; there is no religious reverie to correspond to the few love-soliloquies in *chanson d'aventure* form.

French clerks seem not to have used the popular form to embody purely didactic themes,¹⁰⁹ but such poets as Froissart and Deschamps occasionally adopted the framework for their *poésies de circonstance*.¹¹⁰ Taken as a whole, the adaptation

in the Anglo-Norman poem with those of the French one quoted in the text:

Cler ot le vis et [le] cor[s] gent nature moderamine,
Plus de cristal sunt blancs se[s] dens justo locantur ordine.

¹⁰⁷ Froissart, ed. Scheler, *Poésies*, II. p. 346, *Pastourelle* XVIII.

¹⁰⁸ Extract printed by P. Meyer, *Rom.* VIII. pp. 335 f.

¹⁰⁹ Didacticism marks such lines in the religious *pastourelle* (cf. preceding note) as, *Le vie passe come fait le umbrage*. The few instructive *chansons d'aventure* that may be noted (cf. Deschamps, III. p. 22—*On obtient tout aveo de l'argent*—and the note following) are satiric rather than moral.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 30 and note, and *Chansons*, p. 358; Froissart's *pastourelles* (ed. Scheler, *Poésies*, II); Deschamps, III. pp. 22, 47, 62, 93, v. pp. 79, 122, VII. p. 133, X. p. lxxvii, etc.; Leroux de Lincy, *Rec. de Chants Historiques* Fr. II. p. 80, etc.

of this particular convention, whether religious, moral, or occasional, is remarkably restricted.¹¹¹

The French lyrics of adventure, almost without exception, tell of actual encounters. Even when they concern a symbolic character,—*le deu d'amors*, a nightingale that offers sage advice, the Virgin, or the holy Cross,—the recitals are realistic and matter-of-fact; there is no suggestion that the adventure is visionary.¹¹² The *trouvère* or *jongleur* as a rule consistently maintains the pretense of the opening lines. The cases are comparatively rare in which he keeps unobtrusively to his shadowy background;¹¹³ even when he limits his activity to that of a narrator, he often reminds us of his presence by referring to his secluded point of vantage, or by recording his departure.¹¹⁴ In a word, the *chansons d'aventure* in France maintain, through all modification, their dramatic quality.

C. LIMITS OF THE PRESENT DISCUSSION

The French lyrics of adventure must have been known in England while they were still current in France; this is proved by the several English derivatives that were written down as early as about 1300. The highest popularity of

¹¹¹ Cf. Järnström, *Rec. de Chansons Pieuses*, p. 16.

¹¹² With the exception of the adventure—very realistic, nevertheless—which in the stereotyped *début* contains the words *en cel lieu je m'en dormi* (I. 52). The slumber in I. 27 is incidental, being ended before the adventure proper begins.

¹¹³ I. 51.

¹¹⁴ I. 36, II. 112. Details that figure in the preliminary setting reappear,—e. g., the *cheval*,—but occasionally with some inconsistency (cf. I. 73, II. 3 and 20); the setting in one or two cases (I. 61, 73) is referred to at the close, though the whole prelude is never repeated. In II. 59, 68, the poet who begins his narrative in the first person ends by speaking of himself in the third; so in Paris, *Chansons*, no. 29, and perhaps in II. 65.

the English *chanson d'aventure* comes, however, in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the vogue of the French adventure-song is long since past. The following discussion of the English examples will be concerned with the period that begins about 1300 and terminates in the mid-sixteenth century with the appearance of Tottel's *Miscellany* and the accession of Elizabeth.¹¹⁵ Late Tudor songs, though perhaps not strictly a part of Middle English poetry, will be included, inasmuch as they are echoes caught up by musicians from traditions of long standing. The many ballads that have adopted the form of the *chanson d'aventure* will be represented by the few examples that date definitely before 1550, or that present plainly traditional features. The large number of *chansons d'aventure* that occur among Elizabethan music-books, and among the later collections of street-ballads and semi-popular songs, fall outside the scope of the present consideration, since they show no significant development of the convention, but only illustrate its persistence.

The discussion will, as a matter of course, include Scottish *chansons d'aventure*, the earliest of which appear in the later years of the fifteenth century.¹¹⁶ It will comprehend not only amorous lyrics, but also adaptations of religious, didactic, and miscellaneous character; among the miscellaneous adventure-lyrics will be included those of historical, satiric, occasional, and humorous content. The list of *chansons d'aventure* treated will not include adventure-poems (if they may be so called) that preserve merely the element of the poet's presence, as does the carol, "I saw a swete semly

¹¹⁵ Definite dating of popular and semi-popular poems is of course an impossibility. The date of the MS. or MSS. involved is often of value only in furnishing a *terminus ad quem*.

¹¹⁶ Occasionally a poem in Scotch dialect is merely a variant of a poem already current in England; cf. D 2 b, 13 b. (For explanation of these citations, cf. Ch. II. n. 1.)

syght;”¹¹⁷ it will exclude poems in which a vision element predominates, such as Mary’s lament, *Quia Amore Languageo*,¹¹⁸ and poems which are quite devoid of a real adventure element, though influenced in phrasing by adventure-songs, such as “My self walkyng all allone.”¹¹⁹

The first of the two following chapters will be devoted to the conventional form, the second to the themes. In each an attempt will be made to demonstrate the general adherence of the English convention to its foreign models, and at the same time to point out certain peculiarly English tendencies which manifest themselves in tone and spirit rather than in form.

¹¹⁷ Rickert, *Carols*, p. 59.

¹¹⁸ Cf. below, Ch. II. n. 78; Ch. III. § B, n. 14.

¹¹⁹ *Rel. Ant.* I. p. 26.

II

THE CONVENTIONAL FORM

The English composers of *chansons d'aventure* are faithful in the main to the pattern set them by their French predecessors; though they introduce certain important alterations into the narrative, yet they repeat monotonously phrases caught from *trouvère* song.

The preliminaries to the adventure are, as in France, the designation of day, hour, and season, the appearance of the solitary poet "wandering by the way," the announcement of his mood and his motive for being abroad, and the tale of his unexpected encounter with some frequenter of field or forest.¹

The earliest and most persistent phrase used to designate the day is "this enders day," or "this other day,"² a direct translation of the familiar *l'autrier* or *l'autre jour*. Substitutes, occurring usually in the later poems, are "on a day," "in a morning," "once," and "of late" or "not long ago."³ As in France, the selection of a definite week-day or of a particular feast-day⁴ is the result of effort to vary a trite

¹ For French parallels to details presented in this chapter cf. above, Ch. I. § B and notes. Citations of English texts by letter and number refer to the four registers in Appendix B: A (Amorous), R (Religious), D (Didactic), M (Miscellaneous).

² A 6, 36, 37 (c. 1303), 38, 39; R 6, 7, 13 (c. 1310), 18, 25 (c. 1310); D 2, 22. (Cf. the modification "this other year," in pieces manifestly influenced by the *chanson d'aventure* tradition; *John the Reeve*, *Percy Folio MS.* II. p. 557, and *The Bludy Serk*, Henryson, Scot. Text Soc. III. p. 96.

³ A 4, 11; D 7, 30; cf. D 24: A 5, 12, 22, 28, 29, 41, 44, and often: A 2, 24: A 8, 9, 15, 31, 33; R 14, 24; D 28; M 8.

⁴ *Monday*, A 20, M 2 a (sec. XIV); *Wednesday*, A 24, M 2 a, l. 78, in-

formula. Brief descriptions of the day, thoroughly conventional, mark a few of the later pieces.⁵

When precisely timed, the adventure regularly occurs near dawn, or, less definitely, in the morning hours.⁶ Variations—the hours of dark before the dawn,⁷ noon-tide,⁸ evening, and night⁹—occur in comparatively late examples, the choice being sometimes apparently capricious, sometimes determined by the substance, as when the poet chooses noon-tide of a summer's day to symbolize the hot madness of youth.¹⁰ The later adaptations are sometimes burdened with over-sophisticated phrasing, such as Lydgate's "Late whane Aurora of Tytane toke Leve."¹¹

Spring is the favourite season of the English wayfarers,

consistently with l. 1. ("On Wednesday" is conventional, especially in Scotland, it would seem: cf. besides A 24 and M 2 a, *Love Gregory*, Scotch version, l. 1, Percy Soc. xvii. p. 60, *Freiris of Berwik*, l. 61, Dunbar, Scot. Text Soc. II. p. 287; "Ash Wednesday," Dunbar, l. c., p. 160, is influenced by the anti-Lenten theme; non-Scottish use in *Otuel*, l. 125, ed. E. E. T. S. Extra Ser. xxxix); *Sunday*, R 21 (c. 1370), to fit the pious theme.—*Black Monday*, A 20; *Midsummer Eve*, A 45; *Yuleday*, etc., D 1, M 10; "bifore þe Ascenciun," R 21 (c. 1370).

⁵ A 28, 29; R 23; D 23, 30; M 16.

⁶ *Dawn*, A 10, 28, 35, 45; R 20, 23, 27; D 28, 34, 37; *before the day*, etc., A 7, 29 b, c; M 13, 20; *in a morning*, etc., A 4, 11, 12, 44; D 2, 7, 22, 28, etc. For *early* cf. A 10, 29 b; also probably A 45, end, where "airly" is better interpreted as referring to the hour than to the period of Dunbar's life (cf. Dunbar, Scot. Text Soc. I. p. lxxxvii) or to a date not long past (Schipper, *William Dunbar*, p. 144).

⁷ A 45, R 14.

⁸ D 18, 24.

⁹ "This enders night" (A 23, 40; R 8; M 21) is probably an independent English modification of "this enders day," rather than an imitation of the infrequent *autre nuit*, especially as in all cases but A 40 it seems to be an intentional variation. The phrase occurs in the settings of the fifteenth century "spiritual lullabies," which "certainly savour of the French," though no French poems of the type are known (cf. Padelford, *Cambr. Hist. of Engl. Lit.* II. p. 433.)—*Evening*, etc., A 29 d, R 21 (c. 1370), D 32, M 4.

¹⁰ D 24.

¹¹ D 28. Cf. R 20, 23, 27; D 32, 34, 37; M 23.

and May their chosen month; ¹² Summer now and then shares their favour.¹³ Yet the English poets do not dwell, as one might expect, on the freshness and beauty of reviving Nature. Unlike the *trouvères* who, formalists though they be, do not fail to note *la prime florete blanchoyer aval ces pres*,¹⁴ the English adventurers, early as well as late, inaugurate their recitals with terse, business-like phrases:

From petres bourh in o morewenyng
as y me wende omy pleyjyng
on mi folie y pohte,¹⁵

or,

As I stod on a day me self under a tre
I met¹⁶

The explanation probably lies partly in the fact that these earliest poets are borrowing from contemporary French poems, that is, from late and ultra-conventional *chansons* with preludes of the most condensed and lifeless type. Other writers, especially in post-Chaucerian days, at once echo the foreign phrases and improve upon them in sophisticated fashion:

In may whan euery herte is lyjt
And flourys frosschely sprede and spryng
And Phebus with his bemys bryjte
Was in þe Bole so cler schynyng.¹⁷

¹² Spring is designated by phrases: *verno tempore* (A 43), "in ye begynnyng off thys yere," etc. (A 25, D 31). "Spring," like French *printemps*, does not occur. *May*, A 7, 11, 21, 22, 26, 28, 29, 34, 35; R 12, 20; D 7, 23; M 13, 18, 20. *April*, R 27 (*sæc.* xvi); *February*, near *March*, A 32 (*sæc.* xv).

¹³ A 2, 24; R 21, 22; D 3, 24, 25; M 14, 24.

¹⁴ Bartsch, II. 24.

¹⁵ R 17 (c. 1310).

¹⁶ A 4 (*sæc.* xiv, first half).

¹⁷ A 22 (c. 1400). The astrological phraseology, which has an isolated French parallel (cf. Bartsch, *Chrest.* p. 62), is here probably

Only an occasional burden, suggestive of folk-song, sounds a spontaneous note of vernal joy:

Mery hyt ys in may mornynge
Mery wayys ffor to gone.¹⁸

The fresh and gay months are the traditional season even for the gloomiest adventures,—encounters with lovers “ver-ray seyk, ful pale of hewe” or with sadly repentant wights.¹⁹ Sometimes, however, the darker seasons furnish the background, as in France, for events by no means unhappy; the poet is seeking variety or trying to meet the exigencies of rhyme.²⁰ In other cases, winter is chosen apparently in a conscious effort to make season and mood conform; Lydgate chooses December for his tale of “flittyng fortune,” and Kennedy dates the tardy repentance of an old friar in the hoary age of the year, “eftir the halydayis of Yule.”²¹

Chaucerian; so also the mythological reference (cf. R 27, D 31). With l. 1 cf. A 34, “In May . . . quhen all luvaris reiosit bene, and most desyrus of pair pray.”

¹⁸ R 2. Cf. A 37 (c. 1303) and A 11 (c. 1500) with burdens redolent of Spring: “No[w] apri[nke]s the sprai” and “Colle to me the rysshys grene, colle to me”; also M 17, “This day day dawes.” In the settings proper, the brief descriptions of the seasons (A 1, 2, 22, 24, 34, 35; R 17, 27; D 7, 23, 24, 31; M 5, 19, 20, 24) offer conventional references to mild and mirthful or lusty May-days or sweet savoured flowers (A 11, 28; D 7); or studied phrases like “in ane symmer sessoun quhen men wynnys thair hay” and “not far fro marche in the ende of feuryere” (A 2, 32; cf. M 4, 5; all late). Some of the Scotch descriptions, though elaborate and conventional, have a welcome concreteness and freshness, cf. A 35.

¹⁹ A 11, D 7, etc. Such a literary artist as Charles d'Orléans perhaps realizes the value of *le joyeux temps* as a foil to his sadness (cf. A 26); but the psychology of the mediæval clerk is not so subtle. It is safe to assert that the average spring-time setting for a lament, amorous, religious, or didactic, is merely a formal survival of an earlier mode.

²⁰ R 15, a bird sits, with “aykyng sare,” on “bowys bare”; so perhaps A 1, M 4 (though in M 4, “Full carefully clothed from the cold” finds an interesting parallel in Bartsch, III. 1, *trouvai pastoure . . . contre yver ert bien guarnie*, a variation on I. 21, l. 20, III. 50, l. 11).

²¹ D 34, l.

One of the earliest of the poets—undoubtedly guided by French tradition in the special form he adopts—chooses for his devout reverie the time when “shrinkeþ rose and lylye flour.”²² If he has made use of some definite French model, that model was an adventure-poem presumably not of sombre tone, prefaced either by a joyous setting or by one of the very rare ones like *Quant fuelle chiet et flor fault*;²³ if the former be true, he has transformed both setting and adventure; if the latter, he has retained the setting and fitted to it an adventure better suited to its tenor and to his own taste. Such speculation is idle; quite possibly he had no particular model in mind as he wrote, but only the general convention. Certainly most of such modifications in the English poems are to be regarded as independent inventions of serious-minded poets.

The English poet, like his French precursor, shuns company; he observes the tradition for secrecy even when the adventure he is to relate lays no such necessity upon him.²⁴ Habitually he is idly wandering, unlike the Frenchman who goes proudly *chevalchant*. In fact, considerably fewer than a tenth of all the English poets-errant tell us that they ride,²⁵ and only one carries the pretense beyond the opening lines:

I ther stod and hoved styll
To a tre I teyd my sted.²⁶

Three of these few riders are early fourteenth-century adventurers,—a fact that suggests that in its beginnings the English *chanson d'aventure* was bidding fair to follow alien

²² R 17 (c. 1310).

²³ Bartsch, II. 17.

²⁴ “Alone” etc., A 3, 6, 7, 11, 12, 17, 21, 32, 36, 44, 45, 46, and often; “withowttin feir,” A 12.

²⁵ A 30 (c. 1310), 35, 37 (c. 1303), 41; R 8, 13 (c. 1310), 15; D 2 b, 14 a, 16 b, 33, 35.

²⁶ D 35.

precedent. The later development belies this promise because it is dominated not by courtly, amusement-loving *trouvères*, but by grave clerks or by poets in fairly close touch with the people. The "riding," far from serving as an actual mark of class distinction, is only a meaningless phrase to the clerk who ventures the startling assertion, "I gon ryde, walkynge al miself alone."²⁷ The English poet as a rule "walks," "fares," "comes," "goes," "wanders," or "passes by" a quiet place.²⁸ Sometimes, like the French poet, he relies on the bare phrase "I rose"²⁹ to suggest the early morning ramble. At times—especially when he is about to relate an episode of quiet nature—he is at repose as the story opens, standing under a tree, sitting, or lying, perhaps "by a bancke";³⁰ in a final remove from the usual active outdoor adventure, he is studiously musing, or kneeling in devotion, or unclosing a book.³¹ In all this he is independent of French custom. Yet, in spite of such radical variations in content, the English writer adheres closely to the Frenchman's phrasing; his "ase y me rod," "as y con fare," and "wandering as I went"³² are familiar expressions. Though he shows a preference for the *as*-clause, he often uses in later songs the simple preterite, which is the commonest form in France,—"*vp I arose*," "*I went alone*."³³ In a curtailed form, which appears most often in Tudor song-

²⁷ D 14 a. In D 16 b ("By a fforest as I gan ryde") the verb should be "went," as the rhyme proves. Cf. also A 35 for a contradictory "I red."

²⁸ Cf. in A alone: 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 21, 22, 24, 26, 29, 32, 33, 36.

²⁹ A 43; R 5; M 20, 23.

³⁰ *Standing*, A 3, 4, 31; D 21; M 6; cf. "was present," A 18. *Sitting*, D 11 ("at a sarmoun"); M 1. *Lying*, A 7, 38; R 23; D 18; M 13, 18.

³¹ D 31; M 21; R 18, 21; D 22; R 14.

³² Cf. in A alone: 1 to 9, 12, 13, 16, 24, 26, 29, 31, 32, 33, 37, 41; similar clauses ("mosti ryden," "*per I lay*") 18, 30, 38; present participle replaces the clause (A 17, 46, etc.)

³³ A 43, 36, and often.

books, he first indicates his presence by the verb that announces the encounter:

In wyldernes
there found y besse.³⁴

In an extreme instance, closely paralleled in France, he says:

Hay how the mavys
on a brere
she satt *and* sang
with notes clere.
I drew me nere
to se her chere.³⁵

In other late forms he indulges in pedantic elaboration both of the expression and of the action itself.³⁶

In choosing the scene for his tale the English poet in the main follows the Frenchman's lead. He passes by the green-wood or forest,³⁷ or less often, by a meadow, hillside, valley, or river's brim.³⁸ He does not always precisely define the

³⁴ A 27. The verbs are *heard, found, saw, met*: A 10, 15, 19, 23, 28, 29 a, b, 34, 39, 40, 42, etc. With A 15 (*sæc. XVI*), "I hard lately to a ladye," cf. *L'autrier une dame entendy, Rom. xxxix. p. 357*.

³⁵ A 14.

³⁶ "I dyde me repare," "I movit me," etc., A 1, 12, 21, 31, 45; R 22; D 31; M 16, 23. For elaborate preliminary action, cf. A 35, 45, 46; D 24. The ambitious prelude of D 24 may be indirectly influenced by alliterative allegories in which episodes of hunting or deer-stalking figure, and in which the poet appears as witness or actor: cf. *Parl. of Thre Ages*, and *Somer Soneday (Rel. Ant. II. p. 7)*.

³⁷ A 16, R 13; both c. 1310. Cf. A 14, 26, 27, 30, 39, and often; cf. "under a tree," A 4, 17, etc.; "under the leaves," A 36, 45; R 1, etc.—Preference for the "side" of the forest or meadow (A 2, 35; R 9, 15, 26; D 2 a, 8, 14 b, 15, 16 a, b, 18, 22 b; M 3, 4, 8, 14) abundantly paralleled in France, is encouraged in England by the convenience of *side* to rhyme with *ride, tide*, and *abide*, all frequent in the preliminary narrative. The idea of the borderland is conveyed also by the frequent use of "by" in "by one foreste" etc.; cf. in A alone: 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 24, 30, 32, 35, 42, 45.

³⁸ *Meadow*, A 2, 4, 12, 24; R 19, 22; D 12; M 5. *Hill*, R 19; D 10;

locality, divulging only that he wanders "by the way."³⁹ At times he provides the encounter with a local habitation, "by Rybbesdale" or "betuix the ald wark and the nowe."⁴⁰

And yet he follows the lead with a notable difference. Wildness of wood and way have for him a charm unknown to the *trouvère* who haunts trim *bochet*, *vergier*, or *jardin*.⁴¹ He prefers "fryht" or wilderness and passes often through

M 16, 24. *Valley*, A 8, R 19, D 30. *Riverside (bank)*, A 7, 35, 42; R 9; D 26; M 13; cf. M 23 (l. 18). The fountain does not appear; but cf. *well*, A 24, D 23.

* R 3, 11; D 13 a, 23; M 23. Cf. M 2 a (ll. 18, 80). The proverbial phrase is immortalized by its connection with the *Wife of Bath* (Chaucer, *Globe Edition*, *C. T. Prol.* l. 467). The nearest French parallel is the rare *une voie* (*pres d'une voie*, etc.). Other indefinite terms are "by a place," "in a launde," etc., occurring chiefly in the later pieces; A 1, 5, 12, 13, 18, 23; R 4, 14 (l. 30); D 5, 15, 16; M 19.

* A 30; R 17 (both c. 1310); cf. A 8 a, b, 10, 20, 35; M 2. "Here by west" (D 8, 15, both c. 1370; A 9, *scc.* xvi), likewise honoured by a place in Chaucer's *Prologue* (l. 388), is apparently proverbial, and without special local significance. It is a peculiarly English phrase, quite without French parallel (cf. *Seven Sages*, ed. Killis Campbell, p. 159). Probably the term originally had geographical significance. Cf. *bi este* (*St. Edmund, King*, ed. Furnivall, *Early Engl. Poems*, p. 87, l. 2, ms. c. 1305-10) referring to an eastern region. Cf. also *bi weste* used in texts in some way connected with the west: *King Horn* (ed. McKnight, l. 5) locates "bi weste" the kingdom of the father of Horn, whose home according to Schofield's plausible theory (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xviii. p. 10) was in the Isle of Man; the woman who "woneþ by west" appears in the collection of a south-western clerk (Böddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.* p. 150); the author of *Wynner and Wastoure* (c. 1350) who "went in the weste" alludes to himself as a "westren wy" and belongs to the West-Midland school; the Shipman, "wonynge fer by weste" is a man "of Dertemouthe." But before Chaucer's time the phrase was sometimes, at least, purely formal: *Seven Sages* (c. 1275); also *King Horn*, ed. Hall, note on l. 5, p. 91. Its local force persists in the "here be west" whereby John Audelay (*scc.* xv) describes the abbey near Shrewsbury (cf. *Anglia*, xviii. pp. 177 f.). The possible interpretation "by a waste place" is hardly supportable in view of the instances here adduced.

* Cf. "wyldernes," "wielde waies," etc., A 27, 36; R 11; D 14 b, 15, 30; M 11. Cf. Padelford, *Cambr. Hist. of Engl. Lit.* ii. p. 446.

the deep forest⁴² instead of along its shaded border. True enough, he occasionally selects grove, bower, arbour, or garden,⁴³ but only in the late and lifeless days of the convention. His marked preference for the "wylde wode" lends to his narratives a fresh realism that offsets his failure to recount the delights of new-come Spring.

More radical deviations are introduced by the pious adapter. If he retains the familiar out-door background, it is usually as an empty survival of an earlier mode:

Bi a forest as y gan walke
Without a paleys in a leye.⁴⁴

Or he may endow the traditional scene with a spiritual significance, as when he wanders "under the leaves of life" or "in a valey of þis restles mynde."⁴⁵ The seclusion he prefers is sometimes that of chapel or study:

In a kyrke as [I] can knele
This endyrs-dey be a wode syde,⁴⁶

and he may reject even the sun-flecked wood-side:

In a chirche as I gan knele
This enders daye to here a masse.⁴⁷

The last word in such transformation is spoken by Lydgate:

⁴² A 41; D 16, 17, 18, 35; M 12.

⁴³ *Grove*, D 28, R 12; cf. "blossemed buske," D 26 (*bochet joliet et flori*, Bartsch, II. 51). *Bower*, A 1, 35. *Arbour*, A 19; R 10, 27; cf. A 22 (an "erber" in a wood; cf. *vergier . . . en mi forset*, Bartsch, II. 28). "Rosier," D 27; "corner quaint," A 31. *Garden*, A 17, 21, 44, 45; R 10, 23; D 27; M 17, 21. *Orchard*, D 23. *Park*, D 19, M 6; cf. M 2 a, and "Undir a park," ms. Harl. 2255, f. 150 b.

⁴⁴ D 12. For similarly strange juxtapositions cf. R 2, 11; D 22 b, etc.

⁴⁵ R 1, 19. Cf. the "forest of noyous hevynes," translated from Charles d'Orléans (A 26).

⁴⁶ D 22 b.

⁴⁷ R 18; cf. R 14 (l. 30), 21; D 11.

Atween mydnyht and the fressh morwe gray
 Nat yore ago in herte ful pensiff
 Of thoughtful sihes 'my peyne to put away
 Causid by the trouble of this vnstabil liif.⁴⁸

From this preface we might have expected the poet to ride
 "out throw a forrest that wes fair";⁴⁹ but he continues:

Vnclosyd a book that was contemplatyff
 Of fortune turnyng the book I fond
 A meditacioun which first cam to myn hond.

The pedantic clerk here scrupulously preserves the orthodox phrasing; but in spirit he has travelled a long road from that first English adventurer who set out "by grene wode to seche play."

Sometimes, too, the English writer abandons the quest for solitude;⁵⁰ he is no longer attracted by secluded forest or chapel. Boldly he rides through the town, or makes one of the jostling clerks in the Yule-day procession, or stands among lords and ladies in a crowded hall to study a legend written in no secluded spot, but where he who runs may read.⁵¹ All such innovation is quite unknown to the few composers of pious *chansons d'aventure* in France.

When the poet comes to explain his mood and his reasons for being abroad, his case is not altered: he conforms, outwardly at least, to French precedent. He is never abroad on any definite business; long before the hour of work-a-day duty he has gone forth in pursuit of solace,⁵² or more often

⁴⁸ R 14, ll. 1-7.

⁴⁹ D 2 b.

⁵⁰ The secluded character of the setting is explicitly mentioned only in late pieces (A 11, 23, 27, 35, 45; D 19; M 19), but it is usually implied.

⁵¹ D 33; cf. M 14, where Cheapside replaces forest-side: M 10; D 6, 21; cf. *palace*, D 12, M 22.

⁵² A 22; R 7, 14; D 9 c. Cf. the line scribbled on a fly-leaf of *Corpus Christi Coll. Cambr. ms. 61*, and accompanied by the date 1546: "[a] daye of may ffor my solas."

of pleasure for its own sake,—for disport or play, to hear the birds, or to take the air.⁵³ In one instance, like the *trouvère* seeking for *novele amie*, he rides out,

wilde wymmen forte wale
ant welde whuch ich wolde.⁵⁴

And frequently he is sad at heart, or at least thoughtful, as he sets out on the way that leads him to mirthful nightingale or to leaden-hued lover.

He is notably distinguished from the French poet, however, by his lack of self-consciousness. Much less interested in himself, he often enters into his narrative without any suggestion of his own state of mind:

In a fryht as y con fere fremede
y founde a wel feyr fenge to fere.⁵⁵

Unless he intends to present his own love-lament,—a rare contingency,—he has little to say of a moodiness that is without ostensible cause;⁵⁶ he has almost nothing to say of the spirits “so burly”⁵⁷ that often enliven the *trouvère*. When he prefaces a sober moral theme by a mention of his own thoughts or feelings, he is seeking an approach to his subject and not the pleasures of self-analysis. Thinking

⁵³ A 32, 37 (c. 1303), 41; R 13, 17, 24, 26; D 10 b, 16. More formal phrases: “for my pastyme” or “recreacyoun,” “me to rejoyce,” “to dirkin eftir myrthis,” A 11, 45; D 37. *To hear birds*, A 35; R 22, 27; D 3, 30; M 18, 20, 23. *To take the air*, A 12, 29 d; D 7; cf. R 4 (“Lusty Phebus to supervide”), M 11.

⁵⁴ A 30 (c. 1310).

⁵⁵ A 16 (c. 1310).

⁵⁶ He is moody in none of the *pastourelles* (contrast French precedent). His “dolour” or “musyng” is comprehensible from the situation or actually explained in A 22, 38 (probably; a fragment); R 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 17, 19, 21, 24, 25; D 9 c, 13, 23, 34, 37; M 1, 7, 13, 16, 21; it is unaccounted for in A 7, 44; D 31, 35; M 12 b (contradictory in A 44 to “plesantly,” etc.).

⁵⁷ A 44.

"on mi folie," or "bedand myne hourres," he tells us, he is led to pray devoutly, or to listen to the Old Testament lore of an eloquent turtle-dove; ⁵⁸ if his traditional wanton mood persists, it is to be chastened:

As resoun rewlid my richelees mynde
Bi wielde waies as y hadde went.⁵⁹

He contributes new explanations of the traditional pensiveness,—thoughts of death and adversity that sting "vnto the herte."⁶⁰ He is more likely to assert his definite motive for wandering than to expatiate on his mood; in so doing he does not betray overmuch of his own personality. He retains the time-worn phrases, often at the sacrifice of consistency—

Als I went by a welle: *on my playing*
Thurgh a mery orcherde *bedand myne hourres*,⁶¹

or of probability—

as y me wende omy pleyjyng
on mi folie y pohte.⁶²

More often he uses formulas with a familiar structure and ring, but a new significance: "o my pleyjyng," "to heir thir

⁵⁸ R 17, 25; D 23; cf. R 21, M 16, and also *Zs. f. rom. phil.* VIII. p. 573 (Franco-Latin *pastourelle*: *Psalmos intendens psallere*).

⁵⁹ R 11. Cf. R 19 (the "restles mynde" quieted by the recognition of Christ as the true love); D 24 (the hunter, hawk on hand, who goes out "to play" sobered by *Revertere* written on a briar-leaf).

⁶⁰ R 12, 14; D 13, 34; etc. Cf. "musyng . . . on thyngs that were past" or "done by great kings," M 13, 7; also M 16. In R 14, M 13, 16, the explanation offered is quite unconnected with the theme that follows.

⁶¹ D 23 (*italics mine*); cf. A 44; some reconciliation, conscious or not, of the contending words in R 6, 12, 24, 27; D 37, etc.

⁶² R 17; cf. D 16, where quest for disport leads up to gloomy meditations. (In D 24 the "ful glad chere" seems consciously used as a foil to the "sijynge sare" that follows.)

birdis gay," "wilde wymmen forte wale," suffer a change into "on my longyng," "to here a masse," "a treulofe for to fynd" (one that proves to be Christ, the "treulove that fals was neuer").⁶³

When, after these obligatory preliminaries,⁶⁴ the wanderer happens upon the maiden or her substitute, he pauses to describe her, quotes for us a bit of her song,⁶⁵ approaches and accosts her, all quite in the mode of the French intruders.⁶⁶

He deviates more decidedly from foreign custom in the general construction of his narrative. Under his treatment

⁶³ R 7, 18, 19; cf. R 25, D 23.

⁶⁴ Most settings, early and late, omit one or more of the customary details; the general tendency is to condensation.

⁶⁵ The words sung or spoken (or imprinted on some object) are usually given in the form of a refrain closing each strophe; sometimes the burden is prefixed to the poem. The imitative refrain is represented by the "cum dyry" of the nightingale (A 7), the "terly" of the shepherds, and the "lullay" of the Virgin-mother (R 8, 7); cf. "nowell," "la lay," "hey ho," (A 7; R 23, 26, etc.). A feature confined to the non-secular adaptations is the Latin refrain line (R 3, 4, 10, 11, 19, 21, 24; D 9, 16, 22, 24, 30).

⁶⁶ The poet sometimes "casts his eyes on every side" (A 41, R 10, D 16) before catching sight of the heroine of his adventure; his attention, like the French poet's, may be temporarily arrested by a figure that soon recedes in favour of the true heroine (A 41). The adventure comes "by chance" in A 6, 8 b, 9, 33; R 9, 11, 14; D 13 b (cf. "aventur," A 24, 45); all late. The maiden (or her substitute) is alone (A 27, etc.), in a meadow or under a tree or "buske" (A 4, R 15, 19); she is "on her way," and "riding" (A 4, 41; cf. also use of "met"). She is described (A 1, 4, 10; R 6, 10; D 2 b, 14; M 2, and often; expanded description, A 30, 35). The sight of her brings joy (A 7, 12, 35; R 4; D 22, 30; M 13, 16) or—in didactic pieces—sadness (D 14 a, 23, 24, 30, 36). The poet pauses and ponders (R 4, 9; D 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 26, and often; ties his steed, D 35); approaches to see or to hear (A 4, 14; R 10, 11; D 4, 12, 19, 23; M 23, etc.). If he does not conceal his presence, he greets her (A 4, 24); she receives him courteously (A 4, M 2 a); she "bids him abide" (A 14, R 4, D 14 a, M 14). He asks or wonders who she is, what her song means, and why she sings it (A 16; R 10; D 2 b, 9 a, b, 16, 17, 22, 23, 30, 35, 36; M 2, 16, 19, 23). She makes a show of resentment (A 14, 16; D 16) or answers readily, or even offers unsolicited explanation (D 30; M 14, 18).

the type fails to maintain the combination of lyric, dramatic, and narrative elements that is proper to it. The earliest *chansons d'aventure*, whether amorous or religious, and the greater number of the later ones, excepting the didactic, are veritable songs, composed probably for musical accompaniment and often repeating in the form of a tuneful burden the words of love-sick maiden, Maiden-mother, or comely English queen.⁶⁷ But a few examples from the secular and religious groups, and most from the didactic, are artistic or moral efforts rather than spontaneous expressions of feeling; they are robbed in spirit, and to a less degree in form, of lyric quality.⁶⁸

The loss in dramatic realism is even more productive of change in the adventure-songs. In only about one-half the total number are the actors persons whose feelings or actions interest the poet.⁶⁹ These persons are usually human and real in the love poems,—though in several modified examples symbolic characters appear,⁷⁰—and they are undeniable personalities in a few secular ballads to which the conventional setting has been prefixed, such as the tale of clerk Jankyn, of the Yule-day procession, who

⁶⁷ E. g., A 37; R 6; M 1, 17.

⁶⁸ A 45 is not a lyric; D 23 is a long poem, largely expository. Otherwise all the poems of the four lists are lyrics. But whereas more than half of each of the secular and religious groups consists of real songs, carols, or ballads, only a small proportion of the didactic pieces are of the song or carol type; the majority of this group, as the minority of the others, is made up of formal poems in stanzas of eight lines (most commonly the "monk's stanza," *ababbcbc*; cf. Schipper, *Grundr. d. Engl. Metrik*, pp. 328 ff.), twelve lines, seven lines (Chaucerian) or thirteen lines (as in *Pistill of Susan*, etc., cf. Gollancz, *Engl. Misc. to Furnivall*, p. 112, *Amours*, *Scot. Allit. Poems*, Scot. Text Soc. pp. lxxxiii ff.). Most of these poems have a refrain line, sometimes in Latin.

⁶⁹ In almost two-thirds of groups A and M, but in less than half of R and in only about two-fifths of D.

⁷⁰ A 3, 12, 26.

. . . twynkelid but sayd nowt;
and on myn fot he trede.⁷¹

But human actors are replaced in the religious adaptations by the divine Mother or Son, or holy shepherds and kings, and in the moral and miscellaneous by mere types,—“wights,” abstractions, or unembodied voices.⁷² To the moral adapter, especially, the figures with which the convention provides him are not individuals, but only convenient mouth-pieces; indeed, as far as he is concerned, a man and a bird can sing with equal effectiveness the song of *Timor Mortis*.⁷³ Birds take the place of personal actors, rarely in the secular poems, but more often in the religious modifications, and frequently in the didactic.⁷⁴ These religious and moral fowls have in them little of the songster and much of the homilist; and even the amorous lark startles us with his statement that he is Troilus's heir in love, and with his motto, *car vene me ad purchase la mort*.⁷⁵ Lifeless substitutes for personal actors appear in the religious adaptations, and are adopted with enthusiasm by the moralists: holy images that inspire meditation or seem to speak, or legends inscribed on conveniently located pages, walls, or briar leaves.⁷⁶ In their avoidance of such symbols and in-

⁷¹ M 10.

⁷² D 7, 8, 32; M 24: D 12: D 37, M 21. Typical figures are common: age warning youth, the jolly foster, Meed, Eleanor of Gloucester as a type of one fallen from high estate, etc. (D 10, 26, 31; M 3, 22, etc.).

⁷³ D 9. Cf. D 8 and 16.

⁷⁴ Birds appear in but four of the love poems and five of the secular imitations; they appear in one-fourth of the religious group and in almost one-third of the didactic. The appearance of other animals in M 6, 12, 16, 23 (buck, hare, lion, etc.) shows that the type is far from its origin. The birds are used to disguise personalities, A 14; R 15; M 16, 23.

⁷⁵ A 22.

⁷⁶ *Images*, R 12; cf. R 18, 24. *Inscriptions*, R 14, 21; D 3, 6, 13, 20, 21, 24, 29, 33.

scriptions, as of oppressively pedantic fowls, the secular adapters are most faithful to their realistic models.

As a rule the adventures are related as matters of actual and definite fact, even when they concern beings higher than human, prating birds, or lifeless figure-heads, or when they resolve themselves into meditations of the poet. "Mett y wyhte Ihesu to chyrcheward gone," says a devout wanderer, and a lover laments, "I gan remembre me" of "my seruyse" and "gret aduersyte."⁷⁷ But the poets who tell such tales have obviously left dramatic realities far behind, and we are not surprised when they "waxe wery" and sleep awhile before recording the arrival of a lady who bears a wondrous ring, or the declaration of a nightingale that "kysse of women wyrkyth wo."⁷⁸ Those clerks who lack the boldness to meet and speak with the divine Mother or her Son, transform the actual meeting in the greenwood to an imaginary encounter:

As I me went þis enderday
Al-one on my longyng,
Me thowth I say a wel fayre may.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ R 2, A 46.

⁷⁸ D 3, M 18. The line of demarcation between actual and imaginary adventure must necessarily be somewhat arbitrary. It is often impossible to determine whether a given poem originated in the writer's conception as a vision-poem and was fitted out with the setting proper to the *chanson d'aventure*, or as a *chanson d'aventure* which permitted the intrusion of visionary elements; the latter would seem to be true of R 7. It is also impossible at times to decide whether the poet's nap, mentioned casually in the preface, is an incidental preliminary or a fact to be reckoned with throughout the narrative (e. g., A 35, D 30, M 18). The only feasible course is to assign doubtful poems to the adventure-type if the prevailing impression given by the narrative proper is that of an actual occurrence. The following poems, listed as adventure-poems, have some suggestions of the vision-type: A 35; R 7; D 3, 30, 36; M 18, 23; cf. M 13, l. 4. In D 36, M 23, the idea of a dream comes as an afterthought at the close. In D 3 the impression of a dream-event is stronger than in any of the others.

⁷⁹ R 7.

Though poems of this type dwell, vividly enough, on concrete and life-like scenes:

þe mayd went with-owt song
 Hir child on slepe to bring;
 þe child thowth che ded hym wrong
 And bad his moder syng,

yet they offer a very close approach to the vision.

Even the narrative element tends to disappear in the hands of the English poet, who manifestly prefers forms in which he is not an active participant.⁸⁰ He shows slight favour to the *pastourelle* and is likely to leave it unfinished; he lapses into unbroken reverie now and then in the secular *chanson d'aventure*, more often in the religious, and regularly in the didactic, though in the latter the meditation is ordinarily transferred from the lips of the poet to those of some conventional spokesman.⁸¹ He is quick to abandon the pretense that he himself watches or overhears the little drama which he presents; he easily forgets that he has claimed as his own the soliloquy which he quotes, and has even pointed out the definite day, hour, and place of its utterance.⁸²

⁸⁰ He represents himself as constant participant in only about one-third of the love adventures (including the soliloquies) and in a much smaller percentage—about one-eighth—of the adaptations. (Computation is uncertain, because it is frequently impossible to determine whether the poet means a monologue to pass as his own or as that of the figure encountered.)

⁸¹ The average didactic poet disclaims responsibility for the monologue he presents; cf. D 15:

Hit [the bird] couþe not speke, but þus hit mente:
 How Merci passeþ alle þinge.

⁸² As in A 21. Lack of connection between reverie and narrative setting exists in extreme degree in "Alone walking, In thought pleyn-ing" (Skeat, *Chauc. Pieces*, p. 448; cf. a similar poem, *Rel. Ant.* I. p. 26). Neither poem presents a definite adventure. In three *pastourelles* in ballad form (A 5, 29, 41) the poet, like the *trouvère*, soon ceases to identify himself with the wooer.

As a rule he refrains from mentioning himself and his hiding-place⁸³ or from recording his departure.⁸⁴ A few of the later poets, particularly of the Scottish school, maintain their assumed rôle to a certain extent by referring at the close of the story to the landscape sketched in the preface; but the repetition, mechanical and at times somewhat inconsistent with the initial setting, cannot be considered as indicating that the author vividly realizes the situation.⁸⁵ Two of the earliest poets definitely introduce themselves in a double capacity,—first as minstrel proper and, a few lines later, as adventurer.⁸⁶ In each case the poet represents himself in the first strophe as a singer prepared to offer his song, and begins the proposed song in the second strophe with the formula peculiar to the *chanson d'aventure*. The form is borrowed direct from over-sea;⁸⁷ but whereas the *trouvère*

⁸³ Bits of narrative or comment that interrupt the monologues or dialogues are usually such as are common to narrators, and not peculiar to an eye-witness. The poet's progress from place to place is a late elaboration (R 10, 11 b, 15; D 22; M 23); his reappearance at the close is rare (occurring in about one-seventh of the *chansons d'aventure* in which he is not a constant actor).

⁸⁴ A 45 (Dunbar's *Tua Mariit Wemen*) is exceptional; its close is in the manner of the *Bokc of the Duchesse*, etc.

⁸⁵ A 12, 21, 24, 31, 35, 45; R 2, 20; D 1, 10, 15, 23, 31; M 10, 23. Nine of these are Scotch, or in a distinctly Scotch tradition. The habit is certainly not French in origin. It may be a result of the familiarity of fifteenth century Scotch poets with the older alliterative poetry of the West Midland school (cf. Schipper, *William Dunbar*, p. 133). Two conventions of that poetry are the initial nature setting, in which the poet is introduced as hero, and the repeated setting at the close (e. g., *Parl. of Thre Ages*, *Piers Plowman*, *Pearl*, *Buke of the Howlat*). It is quite conceivable that a fifteenth century Scotchman, at work on a short *chanson d'aventure*, should modify its close under the influence of longer pieces of similar structure current in his region. Indeed, Dunbar's *Tua Mariit Wemen* (A 45) furnishes a clear instance of the fusion of the two types, as does also M 19, a late English poem. (It is noteworthy that alliteration is strongly marked in the Scotch pieces in question.)

⁸⁶ R 17, 25, both c. 1310.

⁸⁷ For the French parallel, cf. above, Ch. I. § B, n. 8. The correspond-

is moved by the beauty of the Spring to sing of his adventure with the *belle Amelinete*, the English imitator is inspired to an adventure-song which almost immediately develops into a soliloquy in praise of Him "þat þerled was ys side."⁸⁸

In structure, then, the English *chanson d'aventure* reproduces the corresponding French form; a narrative in which dramatic and lyric elements are more or less highly developed, is set within a framework in which the poet appears as narrator. The direct influence of foreign *chansons* on

ence has not to my knowledge been noted hitherto. Patterson (*M. Engl. Pen. Lyric*) notes the first strophe of R 17 as parallel to the opening of a *chanson d'amour* (p. 33) and the second of R 17 and 25, the "setting proper," as imitated from the *chanson à personnages* (pp. 39, 177); but he does not point out any French *chanson* combining the two preludes.—In view of the genesis here established, propositions to discard either the first or the second strophe of R 17 and 25 may henceforth be disregarded. Wissmann (*Literaturbl.* 1880, p. 215) and Aust (Herrig's *Archiv*, LXX. p. 272) would reject the second stanza of 25 (to which poem the discussion is chiefly limited); Lauchert (*Engl. Stud.* xvi. p. 140), the first, if either. Aust's charge of faulty thought sequence is hardly sustained; in each poem the two settings and the body are linked by one idea, i. e., in 25, the mercy of Jesus, and in 17, the decay of earthly fairness in death, from which Jesus, at Mary's intercession, may save us. The difference in rhyme scheme between the first and the succeeding strophes of 25 (cf. Lauchert) is not ground for rejection of the first; cf. the variation within single French *chansons* (Bartsch, II. 12, 20, 21, 27, etc.) and within A 16, an English poem in the same collection as R 25; moreover, strophe one (*aabocbddd*) and the others (*aabaab* or *aabccb*) have the same basic combination; finally, it is not strange that a minstrel should somewhat differentiate his prelude from his song.—The conventionality of this form furnishes added argument against Bøddeker's supposition of common authorship for R 17 and 25 (*Altengl. Dicht.* pp. 213, 193; cf. Wissmann, Aust, Lauchert, l. c.); though it is not altogether improbable that one author should repeat one formula in several poems, as the custom of Jehan Erart, Ernoul le Viel, Thibaut de Navarre, and many other *trouvères* indicates (Bartsch, III. 15-24, 6-9, 4-5, etc.).

⁸⁸ The few later *chansons d'aventure* prefaced or interrupted by the ballad-singer's call for attention, confidence, or refreshment, are not in the same category; the minstrel makes no claim to authorship of the narrative he recites, or to identity with its hero; cf. A 13, R 15, D 12

external form is manifested in the lyrics with double setting, with prefixed burden representing the maiden's song, and with the linking of strophes by repetition;⁸⁹ French influence on phrasology is evident in the preliminary nature-settings. Nevertheless, the differences between the English and the French adventure-songs are so marked that one can safely conclude that the English poets were not slavishly translating or imitating particular foreign models, but rather working in accord with familiar tradition. Doubtless the later English writers knew the tradition much better through its earlier English exponents than through the French.

These differences are chiefly due to the comparatively late appearance of the type in England, and to the character and tastes of the English authors. To the first cause we may attribute the condensed form of setting, reminiscent of the later French type, and especially common in Tudor songs in which the words are merely incidental to the music; to this cause we may attribute likewise the elaborations of phraseology, description, and action, produced under the influence of Chaucerian diction and of the more ambitious types of narrative popularized through the *Romance of the Rose* and *Piers Plowman*. But the majority of the peculiarities in

(Porkington version, unprinted). In the last named text strophe 13 interrupts the story of a woodland encounter:

Yfe þe woll here þis songe to ennde
 Howe they endyde longe in fere
 I schall yowe tell or I wende
 Howe mercy ys all *and* hase no pere
 Of goddes grace I rede yowe lere
 The nere þe ende þe sonnge ys beste
 Geyfe me drenke *and* þe schall here
 Here ys a fette nowe wyll I reste.

(On such traditional minstrel-calls, cf. F. Kühner, *Litt. Charakteristik d. Roßburghe- u. Bagford-Balladen*, Freiburg, 1895, p. 43. Cf. *Roßburghe Ballads*, ed. Hindley, 1873-1874, II. p. 329, for a late *chanson d'aventure* with the minstrel's preface.)

⁸⁹ A 16; cf. A 21.

the English poems, and the most significant, are attributable to the character of the authors, who reveal their clerkly tendencies in their songs; the poets are probably often wandering clerks, who differ from the *trouvère*, aristocrat and conscious artist that he is, not only in their preference for religious and moral themes, but also in their sympathy with the common people. As poets in close touch with the people they betray no interest in self-exploitation, and willingly lessen or relinquish their fictitious rôles; they manifest no class-pride (no longer do they "come riding") and no love of formality, which would lead them to prefer bower to greenwood. As adventurers with a purpose, they introduce into the stereotyped settings such unaccustomed features as evening, wintry cold, and sober moral meditation; they transfer the scene to town, or chapel, or the valley of unstable mind; they choose a state of inaction, conducive to profitable thought, in preference to idle wandering or merry cantering through forest-ways; they show a liking for their own soliloquies, and also for superhuman or lifeless figures, which do much to rob the *chanson d'aventure* of its realism, and which facilitate its transformation into an account of visionary happenings. It is at the hands of these clerks that the English *chanson d'aventure*, though preserving a semblance of narrative and dramatic form, loses its marked narrative, dramatic, and lyric qualities, and becomes ordinarily a meditative poem fitted out with an adventitious and often incongruous prelude.

Finally the "makars" of Dunbar's school are perhaps to answer for the device of the repeated setting; and for the marked alliteration as well as for purely English phrases such as "here by west" or "wandering by the way" the whole body of writers this side the Channel are responsible.

III

THE THEMES

A minority only of the Middle English *chansons d'aventure* are love-songs; the majority deal with moral or religious or occasional themes. In spite of their very different substance and tone, all the adaptations are nevertheless capable of being classified, like the amorous models, either as *chansons dramatiques* or as *pastourelles*, according as the poet either overhears a monologue or dialogue, or offers his own devotion to some adored being. This distinction is not, however, equally significant in all types of adaptation. It retains its importance in those poems wherein the author is really concerned with the actors as such, with their personal feelings and their personal relations to each other and to him,—that is, particularly in the religious songs. The distinction is not vital, on the other hand, in the moral and in most of the miscellaneous adaptations, in which the poet, bent solely upon setting forth a lesson, cares not at all whether that lesson be enunciated by one speaker or several, by man, maid, or bird, and whether he himself be expositor or silent auditor. Accordingly, in the following discussion of the four types of *chansons d'aventure* the distinction between *chanson dramatique* and *pastourelle* will be emphasized only in the sections treating the first two types, amorous and religious.

A. AMOROUS

The amorous *chansons d'aventure* are infrequent, in comparison with their abundant Old French prototypes, in the Middle English period; they nevertheless constitute a very

definite type, and one that was established in English poetry by the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹

The earliest example is a *chanson dramatique* embodying the complaint of a maiden. In this poem, which dates in present form probably before 1303,² the author tells of overhearing the song of a "litel mai" whose lover "chaunges anewe":

no[w] spri[nke]s the sprai.
al for loue icche am so seeke
that slepen i ne mai.

Close in structure and detail to French tradition as it is, the song may have been taken direct from some French *chanson dramatique*; ³ if so, its original is one of that small minority

¹ An English development of the type prior to 1300 may be assumed on the ground that four amorous poems of about 1300 are found in three different manuscripts, and that three at least present noteworthy and consistent divergence from French methods of treatment; moreover, religious adaptations have had time to appear (cf. R 13, 17, 25, in Harl. ms. 2253, c. 1310, the manuscript that contains two of the earliest amorous examples).

² A 37. On the date cf. Woodbine, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* iv. p. 236; Skeat, *ibid.*, v. p. 104.

³ It corresponds closely, for instance, with Bartsch, II. 7, as the following parallel demonstrates:

No[w] spri[nke]s the sprai.
al for loue icche am so seeke
that slepen ine mai.

1 als i me rode this endre dai *
o mi [pleyinge]
s[ei]h i hwar a litel mai
bigan to singge.
5 the clot him clingge *
wai es him i louue l[on]g[in]ge
sal libben ai.
Nou sprinkes, etc.

L'autrier defors Picarni
juer m'en alai,
une pastoure choïe
ke crioit 'hahai,
lasse, ke ferai?
jeu ai perdu mon ami:
jamais n'amerai
nullui de cuer gai.*

* ms. this endre dai als i me rode.

* ms. clingges.

in France in which the *pucelete* (not designated as a shepherdess) does not receive the poet's advice and solace. The other laments of forsaken maidens, all considerably later,⁴ adhere less closely to the French models; yet the features that mark that mode have persisted. When the poet draws near and accosts the girl he finds that her dear love has

Son icche herde that mirie note yider i drogh 10 i fonde hire [in] an herber swot under a bogh. With ioie inogh. son i asked thou mirie mai hwi sinkes tou ai? Nou sprinkes the sprai, etc.	Si tost com j'oi le cri celle part tornai; deles un arbre foilli la belle trovai, et li demandai por coi k'elle dist ensi: jamais n'amerai nullui de cuer gai.
15 than answerde that maiden swote midde wordes fewe. mi lemman me haues bi hot of louue trewe. he chaunges a newe. 20 thiif i mai it shal him rewe. bi this dai. Now sprinkes.	Et elle me respondi 'je le vos dirai: Robins d'autrui ke de mi prist chapel de glai. si grant duel en ai ke nel puis mettre en obli. jamais n'amerai nullui de cuer gai.'

In a fourth stanza Bartsch, II. 7, records the poet's successful wooing; the French poem, though a close parallel, is not the direct original. Nor is Bartsch, III. 38, which like A 37 is confined to the lament of the *pastourelle*. Notable parallels to French usage are: "that slepen ine mai" (cf. Bartsch, I. 38, l. 4, I. 61, l. 36); "litel mai," "maiden swote" (cf. *pucelete*, *tousete*); "with ioie inogh"; "mi lemman . . . louue trewe"; "herber swot," in place of "fryht," etc. (cf. *vergier gai*, Bartsch, II. 113).—The rhyme scheme and the burden likewise suggest French influence.

⁴A 6, 8, 27, 39, 43; four written down after 1500, the other (8) a traditional ballad. For the theme not in *chanson d'aventure* form, cf. four songs of MS. Caius Coll. Cambr. 383, *sæc.* xv. fol. 210, "Bryd on brere y telle yt to" and "þei y synge and murþ I make"; fol. 41, "Wybbe ne rele ne spynne yc ne may," and "Alas, alas þe wyle þat euer y coude daunce" (in which the girl laments her betrayal by "Jak, oure haly water clerk." Cf. also "But late in place A pretye lasse" (*Wit and Science*, Shak. Soc. 1848, p. 58), *sæc.* xvi, first half; a poem reminiscent in form of the *chanson d'aventure*.

"gone away," "hath chosen a new,"⁵ or that a "wanton child" or perhaps *quidam clericus* has beguiled her; he hears her frank reference to the shame that awaits her, her expression of fear at the thought of parental anger, and her proud resolve to waste no more thought on her faithless lover:

Now hit ys so
 lefe of my woe
 with gode devyse
 And let hym goo.⁶

If the maiden's plaint is caused by her vain longing to know the joys of love,⁷ she cries rebellion against her interfering parents:

⁵ A 8, 39.

⁶ For these details, cf. A 27, 43. The *motif* of the "clerk and the girl" is here probably an English inheritance (cf. the song cited in n. 4, and Bøddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.* p. 172, etc.), though there is of course French parallel; cf. *li clers* of Bartsch, II. 59, and also the song (Haupt, *Fr. Volkslieder*, p. 81):

Langueo d'amours, ma douce fillette
 dum video vos au verd boys seullette.

Verno tempore florissant rosette
 et in aurora chante l'alouette,
 philomela dit en sa chansonnette
 'non est clericus qui n'a s'amyette.'

To this song A 43 is evidently related in some degree:

Vp y arose in verno tempore
 and found a maydyn sub quadam arbore
 That did complayne in suo pectore:

Now what shall y say meis parentibus
 Bycause y lay with quidam clericus.

⁷ A 18, 19. For later echoes of the theme cf. *Mother Watkin's Ale* (J. Lilly, *A Collection of Seventy-nine Ballads and Broad-sides*, London, 1870, p. 251) which bears traces of the *chanson d'aventure* setting; *Bagford Ballads*, ed. Ebsworth, I. 24, 125 (cf. II. 930); *The Pilgrim's Garland* (a collection of songs, probably *sæc.* XVIII), p. 4; etc.

My fathar, my mothar, my mastar, nor my dam
 Shall not let me, I shar [? swar] by sent Tyve;⁸

she is troubled with the fear that she will remain forever a maid, having been too ready with her coy rejection of Robin Bruckeholl's suit.⁹ The monologues of these forsaken or loveless maids are interrupted by the lover's tardy arrival, or by the poet's brief question.¹⁰ The poet, however, never appoints himself chief counsellor, as the *chevalier* was wont to do; and he sometimes so far forgets his adopted rôle of witness to a definitely localized scene that he allows himself to relate the subsequent history of the maiden, or to utter a warning to all women who read his tale.¹¹ The wanton grace of the early French *chansons* is altogether lacking; the primitive *motifs*, though still persisting, have fallen upon evil days.

The complaint of the unhappy young wife occurs in a few late *chansons d'aventure* composed chiefly in Scotland.¹² The theme, independent of the narrative setting, was known in fourteenth century England, as is proved by the scrap of French verse that apparently formed part of the repertory of some English singer:

Amy tenetz vous ioyous si murra lui gelous,¹³

and also by one of those worldly songs that the Bishop of Ossory undertook to transform into pious hymns, lest they pollute the lips of his young clerks:

⁸ A 18.

⁹ A remote parallel occurs in the situation of the French *dame*, commented on by Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 96 ff.

¹⁰ A 8, 39; A 6.

¹¹ A 6, 8. In the course of such narrative, the maiden's refrain changes to suit the altered situation (A 6; cf. Bartsch, II. 7, 32, 51, etc.).

¹² A 2, 9, 13, 20, 45, all c. 1500 or later; all Scotch except 13.

¹³ Ms. Rawl. D. 913, *sæc.* xiv. beg., ed. *Anglia*, xxx, p. 173.

Alas, hou shold ý syng yloren is my playng
 Hou shold ý with that olde man
 To leven and [*oblit.*] my leman (*ms. lemon*)
 Swettist of al thinge.¹⁴

Here is something of the naïve rebellion of the *chanson de mal mariée*. But in the *chansons d'aventure* devoted to the theme a different spirit rules. A strong tendency to satire, to broad comedy and burlesque, and a deliberately cynical attitude on the part of the eavesdropping poet, render them comparable to their popular contemporaries in France rather than to their semi-aristocratic prototypes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The young wife's frankly avowed grievance,

. . . I dar nocht luik our the stair
 Scantlie to gif Schir Johné ane kiss,¹⁵

is assigned to her by a "makar" with manifest delight in satiric side-thrusts. Her boisterous victory over her husband in a battle of blows¹⁶ is a burlesque of her old mutiny:

ne me bates mie,
 maleuroz maris,
 vos ne m'aveis pas norrie.¹⁷

With her, *honis soit maris ki dure plus d'un mois*¹⁸ has be-

¹⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* x. App. Pt. 5, p. 244; cf. pp. 219 ff. A series of *cantilenaes* contained in the "Red Book of Ossory," a record of the acts of the synod of the diocese, are there ascribed to Richard de Ledrede or Lederede, Bishop of Ossory from about 1316 till 1360; prefixed to some of the Latin songs are lines in English and Old French (including the lines here quoted), which are presumably taken from the worldly songs to which the Bishop objected.

¹⁵ A 20; cf. a reference, not particularly satiric, to "Messire Jean" in Parducci, no. 3, not a *chanson d'aventure*. For other satiric elements in the English poems, cf. also A 13, and especially the closing words of A 45.

¹⁶ A 9.

¹⁷ Bartsch, I. 45.

¹⁸ Bartsch, II. 27.

come, "God gif matrimony were made to mell for ane
 3eir";¹⁹ her revolt is less against the despised husband than
 against the binding institution of marriage:

Ye suld heir tell, and he war gane,
 That I suld be ane wantoun ane.

Wa worth maryage for evirmair!²⁰

In spite of her scorn for the "churle," her husband, she is usually of no higher rank, and certainly of no higher tastes, than he;²¹ standing with him as a mark for the cynicism of the poet; she is indeed unlike the *dame* of the French songs, wedded to a *vilain*, pitied and consoled, if not altogether respected, by the condescending poet.

Yet the adventures with the discontented wives are not without reminiscences of their origin. Three of the five types noted by Gaston Paris²² are represented among the English songs: those in which the poet overhears the woman's monologue,²³ her dispute with her husband,²⁴ and her interchange of confidences with other women;²⁵ likewise the later variation that presents a young girl soon to be wedded to a man who does not please her fancy.²⁶ The poem most in keeping with French tradition is the *Wa Worth Maryage*, the lament of a "sweit ane" reported by a poet who refrains

¹⁹ A 45.

²⁰ A 20.

²¹ A 20, 45; cf. A 9. A 45 refers to a difference in rank between husbands and wives (ll. 311-12: "the seuerance wes mekle Betuix his bastard blude, et my birth noble"), but the manners of the fine ladies are rude and boisterous, and the lovers whom they choose are not of the social level of the consoling *chevaliers*.

²² Cf. above, Chap. I. § B.

²³ A 20.

²⁴ A 9. Cf. the ballad celebrating marital strife, c. 1450 (Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Percy Soc. p. 51) with a reminiscence of the *chanson d'aventure* formula in l. 1: "Thys indrys day befel a stryfe."

²⁵ A 13, 45. (The mother acts as *confidante* to the *mal marié* in A 31.)

²⁶ A 2.

from comment and is presumably not wholly unsympathetic.²⁷ The young woman resents the jealous spying of the churl who claims her, to her impotent disgust; she regrets the vanished pleasures of her girlhood, in compensation for which marriage has offered her none of the hoped-for joys; she longs for her own death or for that of her husband; in the latter happy event, she boasts:

I suld put on my russet gowne,
My reid kirtill, my hois of brown;
And lat thame se my yallow hair,
Undir my curché hingand down.

Luffaris bayth suld heir and se
I suld luif thame that wald luif me.

Bot ay unweddit suld I be.

Kirtle and kerchief are Scotch enough; but the "sweit ane" plainly has a French ancestry. So too have the wife, but three days wed, abusing her husband, the woman confiding to a sympathetic "gossip" her expectation of her husband's death, and the young girl rebelling against her father's choice of a mate for her. They remind us of the *mariées de novel*, the *compaignete*, the woman crying, *A un vilain m'ont donee mi parent*; ²⁸ but they do less honour to their origin.

One Scotch *mal mariée*, who appears with a pair of *confidentes*, is deserving of special consideration for the reason that, though well-known, she is not generally recognized as the heroine of a *chanson dramatique*. And indeed, Dunbar's *Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo* ²⁹ is not, strictly speaking, an adventure-lyric. It is a lengthy poem, composed of long, unrhymed, alliterative lines,—in no sense a

²⁷ A 20. Yet it is this poet who alludes to her flirting with Schir Johne.

²⁸ Bartsch, I. 21, 67, 64.

²⁹ A 45.

lyric. Moreover, it issues directly from a literary line other than that of the *chansons d'aventure*; for it is an inheritor of the tradition of those mediæval satires against marriage that culminated in the *Prologue* of the Wife of Bath.³⁰ But its structure is not accounted for by any anti-marital satire,³¹ whereas it is precisely paralleled among the Old French *chansons d'aventure*. Dunbar goes forth before dawn on Midsummer-day, and finds in a green arbour three gay ladies whose beauty he describes. Concealing himself behind the hawthorn hedge, he plays the eavesdropper while they abuse the absent unfortunates, their husbands. In the matching of tales the most experienced of them all, the "wedo," outdoes the "weddit wemen jing," and she urges them on, with questionable advice, to more violent rebellion. The close, in which the poet relates that after their departure he withdraws to a pleasant arbour to write down all that he has heard, is in the vein of Chaucer rather than of the *trouvère*; but the narrative as a whole is strangely reminiscent of the Old French *chanson d'aventure* already described,³² in which two young brides, brightly and richly clad, are incited to rebellion against their absent husbands by the violence of a third, the eldest of them all. Moreover, the points urged by the "Wedo" and her "cumaris,"—the churlishness of the husband, the endlessness of the marriage-bond, the hope of consolation from a seemlier friend, "the seuerance be-

³⁰ Cf. Schipper, *William Dunbar*, p. 144; Mead, "The Prologue of the Wife of Bath's Tale," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xvi. pp. 388 ff.; Lowes, "Chaucer and the *Miroir de Mariage*," *III. Mod. Philol.* vii. pp. 305 ff. The eldest of these three *mal mariées* is, indeed, a widow, like Dame Alisoun.

³¹ *A Talk of Ten Wives on their Husband's Ware* (ed. Furnivall, *Jyl of Breyntford's Testament*, Ballad Soc. 1871) from Porkington ms. 10, c. 1460, presents the women exchanging experiences; but there is no trace of the *chanson d'aventure* form, nor does any one woman take the part of adviser-in-chief.

³² Bartsch, i. 21; above, Chap. I. § B. Cf. also three women in later French songs, Paris, *Chansons*, nos. 21, 88.

tuix his [the husband's] bastard blude" and the woman's "birth noble," and many others,—though doubtless they have come to Dunbar through the medium of the satirists, Chaucer and Deschamps and Jean de Meun,³³ are such as can claim ultimate origin in the *chansons de mal mariée* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

It would seem, then, that Dunbar's poem owes its central situation directly, and some of its details probably indirectly, to the French lyrics of adventure. The theory offers nothing improbable. Dunbar undoubtedly was familiar with the foreign convention. Poets of his school wrote amorous adventure-lyrics,³⁴ and he himself produced several other modifications of the type.³⁵ Moreover, his *Tua Mariit Wemen* belongs to the years immediately subsequent to the *wanderjahre* spent in France,³⁶ during which he could hardly have failed to hear the songs of the folk as well as those of Chartier, Charles d'Orléans, and Villon, who have been pointed out as the poets most likely to have influenced him; among the popular songs those relating to the *mal mariée* would have, by virtue of their piquancy, a peculiar appeal to a satirist like Dunbar. Taking some song of adventure with *trois dames mariées de novel* as a basis, he amplified and modified it, we may conjecture, under the influence of the Wife's famous *Prologue*. Perhaps as a *tour de force* he cast the whole into the form of the long alliterative narratives, which were enjoying a considerable vogue in the North in his time; a procedure the more explicable in view of the fact that

³³ The probability that the early *chansons de mal mariée* have influenced the laments of La Vielle, Le Jaloux, and other precursors of the Wife of Bath has not been mentioned by Professor Mead or Professor Lowes.

³⁴ A 6, 10, 12, 20, 21, 24, 34, 35, 42.

³⁵ A 23, R 20, M 21 are Dunbar's; D 2 b is ascribed to him.

³⁶ On the date and conditions under which the poem was written, cf. Schipper, *William Dunbar*, p. 135; Dunbar, ed. Scot. Text Soc. I. pp. xxvi ff., lxxxvii, clviii.

the alliterative poems commonly open with a nature setting in which the poet appears as narrator. Whatever his method of composition may have been, it was certainly not uninfluenced by the tradition of the *chansons d'aventure* that present the *femme mal mariée*.

An unfortunate lover or mismated husband replaces the woman in a few English and Scotch songs.³⁷ The plaints of the lover are prevailingly courtly. Leaden-hued wights in pleasant gardens³⁸ make their moan for ladies fair as Helen of Greece, but false, or pitiless, or perhaps lost through death;³⁹ among them no Robin bewails the caprices of a Marot. One "berne abbydyng on the bent," about whose "freche effer" there is a suggestion of miraculous light, proves to be Pandarus, who "sumtyme servit the gud knyght Troyelus"; hardly a lover himself, to be sure, but certainly a counsellor competent to tell the questioning poet "quhen ladeis to thair luvaris salbe leill."⁴⁰ But the popular note is not wholly lacking. The lover who is driven by his cruel mistress to mourn, "I well perseyue that I shall dye," relieves his feelings prettily, if inconsequentially, by the refrain:

Colle to me the rysshys grene, colle to me!⁴¹

Less refined taste marks the poems that present the Scottish "heynd cheild" and his English counterpart, "good Jo-

³⁷ Lover's lament, A 11, 12, 17, 33, 34, 40, 44, all c. 1500 or later; Wyatt is the author of 33; 12 and 24 are Scotch. Mismated husband's lament, A 31, 42, both c. 1500 or later; 42 is Scotch.

³⁸ A 17, 44. "He had lost his colour cleane" finds French precedent (Bartsch, i. 61; *si pert a ma color*), but is probably inspired in these Tudor songs by Lydgate's *Black Knight* (Skeat, *Chauc. Picces*, p. 249, l. 132) and Chaucer's "man in blak" (*Boke of the Duchesse*, Chaucer, Globe Edition, l. 445).

³⁹ Compared to Helen, A 34; false, 33; pitiless, 11, 17; removed by death, 44 (presumably), a poem which is suggestive of the *Black Knight* and the *Boke of the Duchesse*.

⁴⁰ A 12.

⁴¹ A 11.

han";⁴² they harp on the laughter-provoking theme of the husband so misused and beaten by a scolding wife that her death would be "great joye":

God gif I wer wedo now!

But whether he sing for court or tavern, the composer of these lyrics refrains from offering comfort in the superior manner dear to the *trouvère*;⁴³ he is always content to utter no more than the traditional leading question.

Dialogues between lovers are very few among pre-Elizabethan *chansons d'aventure*⁴⁴ and very remote in spirit from their French origin. Debates of amorous request and resistance are found in an unpleasant account of a Scotch "bern" and his "bricht"⁴⁵ and in a *jeu d'esprit* from the repertory of a ballad-singer, which begins succinctly:

⁴² A 31, 42.

⁴³ He offers such counsel in Wyatt's "A Robyn, / joly Robyn" (Padelford, *XVI. Cent. Lyrics*, p. 10), not to be classed as a *pastourelle* in the technical sense, since the obligatory *début* is lacking.

⁴⁴ A 15, 23, 25.—The amorous debate independent of the conventional framework exists abundantly; e. g., the dialogue of the clerk and the girl (Büddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.* p. 172), the *Nut Brown Maid* (Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 34), and "Hey, trolly loly lo, maid, whither go you?" and "Come over the woodes fair and green" (*ibid.*, pp. 62, 64). The debate in *chanson d'aventure* form occurs in late street-ballads; cf. among many, *Shirburn Ballads*, ed. Clark, Oxford, 1907, no. 52, p. 220, "All in a garden green," a song more directly related to the *chansons d'aventure* of France and England than to the twenty-seventh Idyll of Theocritus, of which the editor says it is an imitation. *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, translated by Richard Ros (*Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, p. 80) and the *Craft of Lovers* (cf. Hammond, *Chaucer, A Bibliographical Manual*, p. 420) are examples of the non-lyric *débat d'amour* fitted out with a setting resembling that of the *chanson d'aventure* and probably ultimately indebted to it. (The debate between lover and lady, ms. Sloane 1710, referred to by Padelford, *Cambr. Hist. of Engl. Lit.* II. p. 442, is a fragment of Ros's *La Belle Dame*, comprising strophes 13-18, 25-96 of Furnivall's text.)

⁴⁵ A 23.

I hard lately to a ladye
A lover say . . . ;⁴⁶

also in a scrap of song raised from the semi-popular level by some Tudor "master of music."⁴⁷

The amorous pastime of a rustic group, which is presented in the French *pastourcelle objective*, furnishes the theme for no Middle English *chanson d'aventure*, but the probability that such adventure-songs were current in fifteenth century England is suggested not only by the several religious and other adaptations of that period, presenting shepherds or other rustics in converse, but also by an Elizabethan *chanson d'aventure* that presents the type in unmistakably English form; the nut-brown milk-maids are interested not alone in their lovers, but also in their maypoles and their May queen.⁴⁸

The English nightingale, like the *rossignol*, sings for the delight or solace of the English poet-lovers. Sometimes her

* A 15. In 15 and 23 the tendency to equal apportionment of dialogue, such as characterizes the formal *débat*, is evident; 15 is comparable in succinctness to the *ballade* of G. de Lannoy, *Rom.* XXXIX. p. 357.

* A 25.

* Ms. Harl. 4280, f. 62 b; the poem occurs together with several by the Earl of Oxford.

- 1 As I me walked hard by a riueers side hey no no
to cuntry milck maydes I chanced to espye hey no no
- 2 The on wase as fayre as fare might be
the other wase of nut browne with a rowling eye
- 3 much talcke ther passed them betwene
of ther cuntry may poles and of ther sommerry queene
- 4 ther petecotes of scarlet ther wascotes of red
with milck white aprones and strawne hates on ther heades
- 5 Long poyntes with siluer tages aboute her armes thay wore
[? Grea]te ringes with poses more youris then my owne
- 6 And to requite ther poyntes and ther ringes
thay gaue ther louers garlandes with many trickys thinges
- 7 thus thay did passe the longe sommeres daye
thaye tocke ther nut browne milck paks [? pails] and so they went
ther way

song retains a joyous note of springtime, "soo fresch, soo gay," as in the famous Tudor ditty:

She sayd wynter was past, hey how!
Than dyry cum dawn dyry cum dyry cum dyry
Cum dyry cum dyry cum dawn, hey how!⁸⁰

But her tastes and training are not altogether of the greenwood. With the traditional thorn under her heart "to kepe hur fro slepe," she sings a song⁸⁰ calling on young lovers to awake; the words with which she addresses the lover in an alluring fragment advise him, we may suppose, to love loyally in hope of better speed:

I haue loued so many a day, lightly spedde bot better I may
þis ender day wen me was wo under a bugh þer I lay
Night gale to mene me to . . .⁸¹

In a more elaborate lyric,⁸² composed not long after Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*, and devoid of popular elements, the woe-begone poet overhears the nightingale and many other songsters joining in an antiphonal chorus to give praise to loyal love, and also to defend it against the attacks made by cuckoo, pie, fieldfare and jay. Each bird in his allotted strophe expounds his views of love or tells of his own languishing; each—with the exception of starling, fieldfare, and cuckoo, the latter of whom announces, "I can no french"

⁸⁰ A 7. Cf. Morley's *Madrigals*, 1594 (ed. Bolle, *Palaestra*, XXIX. p. 75): "On a faire morning, as I came by the way"; a wanton spirit of revolt and the hint of woman's dominance are suggestive of the primitive *chanson de printemps*. It is doubtful whether the more important figure is the "merry maide" or the bird.

⁸¹ Perhaps she merely suggests the song to the poet. In either case, there is no trace of converse between poet and bird.

⁸² A 38. The fragment suggests a closer resemblance to the French models than do any of the other bird-songs, but the brevity precludes certain judgment.

⁸³ A 22.

—ends his stanza with a line borrowed from some *chanson d'amour*.⁵³ The throstle-cock closes the chorus in serious English fashion by announcing that it is “no stedefastnesse”

In loue to turne as a bal;

En dieu maffie sanz departer.

Though the poem is obviously dependent on Chaucer's *Parlement* for much of its detail, as its editor has pointed out,⁵⁴ it does not owe its structure to Chaucer's poem; it has no suggestion of a formal council, of opinions heard and weighed and of a decision rendered, and it relates an actual adventure and no dream. For the device of the formal antiphonal chorus doubtless it is indebted ultimately to the popular mediæval tradition represented most notably by *La Messe des Oisiaus*; ⁵⁵ but the English poem is a simple adventure-lyric, not an elaborate and allegorical vision-poem, it concerns itself solely with the responsive chorus, which is merely the central incident of the *Messe* and similar poems, and it is not a parody of the divine service. Structurally, in other words, it derives neither from Chaucer's poem nor from such poems as *La Messe des Oisiaus*; it is an adventure-lyric, though obviously one not derived immediately from any of the known French *chansons d'aventure*.⁵⁶

⁵³ E. g., *Qui bien ayme tard oublye*, the mavis's song, on which cf. Jörnström, *Rec. de Chansons Pieuses*, pp. 137, 141; also Paris, *Chansons*, no. 53, Schick, *Temple of Glas*, E. E. T. S. Extra Series LX.—The genesis of this particular strophic form is uncertain; it has manifest affinity with the form of the *chanson glosée* (cf. Brakelmann, *Herrig's Archiv*, XLIII. pp. 323, 349, notes; Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 106, n. 1) and of vernacular poems in which each stanza ends with a Latin *cauda* (cf. Thureau, *Der Refrain*, pp. 277 f.; also R 11, 24; D 9, 30, etc.).

⁵⁴ Cf. also Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, I. p. 55.

⁵⁵ Scheler, *Dits et Contes*, III. pp. 1 ff.; cf. Neilson, *Court of Love*, pp. 67 ff., 225 f.

⁵⁶ Cf. *England's Helicon*, ed. Græssart, 1812, p. 233, for a song (not an adventure-song) reminiscent in theme and form of this later *Parliament*.

The *pastourelles*, which are extremely abundant in France, form a small minority among the English songs of love-adventure,⁵⁷—a fact that is not surprising to one who has noted in the English *chansons dramatiques* the author's disinclination towards a prominent rôle and his failure to bring out a piquant contrast between his station and that of the "litel mai" whose plaint he overhears. But in spite of its infrequency, the *pastourelle* is perhaps the most prominent type of English adventure-song, not only because of the important place that it fills among the texts written down about 1300,⁵⁸ but also because of the strikingly dramatic character of the action involved. This action is, indeed, in general a repetition of that presented in the French *pastourelles*. The poet listens to the maiden's song,⁵⁹ which is at times her love-lament, and salutes and questions her;⁶⁰ he offers his love as abruptly as does the impertinent *trouvère*, and seeks to win her by similar arguments and promises.⁶¹ At his approach the maiden is sometimes pleased, sometimes

⁵⁷ There are but nine *pastourelles*, normal or modified, that reach a definite *dénouement* (A 4, 5, 10, 14, 16, 24, 29, 36, 41) and four that are undeveloped (A 1, 28, 30, 35). Several well-known Tudor songs preserve the typical *pastourelle* dialogue without the form of the *chanson d'aventure*: "Hey, trolly loly lo" and "Come over the woodes" (Chambers and Sidgwick, pp. 62, 64); also "When that byrdes be brought to rest" (*Anglia*, xxxi. p. 380) and "Ane fare sweit may of mony one" (Pinkerton, *Anc. Scot. Poems*, p. 190), both of which have reminiscences of the nature-setting.

⁵⁸ A 4, 16, 30 are texts of the early fourteenth century; this early development is presaged by the Anglo-Norman *pastourelle* of the thirteenth (cf. above, Ch. i. § B, n. 106).

⁵⁹ A 5, 29, 36. He may devote a word or two to her beauty, A 4, 10, 16, 24, etc.

⁶⁰ He salutes her, A 4 (in Christ's name), 24; he bids or causes her to "abide," A 4, 10, 14; he questions her, A 16 (who she is), 36 (why she comes alone).

⁶¹ He flatters her (A 4, 16), assures her of his sincerity (24, 36, 41), promises to observe secrecy (10, 14), prays for pity (1, 36), compares himself with other possible lovers (16, 36), and offers her clothes (16), ring and purse (41), high place (29).

afraid, sometimes angry.⁶² She refuses his love with genuine indignation:

She bar me fast on hond þat I began to raue
And bad me fond ferþer a fol for to fech.

‘þu findis hir nout hire þe sot þat þu sech.

It is no mister your word forto wast;

Wend fort þer ye wenin better for to spede;’⁶³

or through fear lest he will soon tire of her and leave her to be shamed, or lest her “dame” will punish her.⁶⁴ She usually succeeds in discomfiting the presumptuous intruder,⁶⁵ or yields only against her will, burning with anger when her quiet request for amends is scoffingly refused;⁶⁶ but occasionally—though examples are found only in the Scotch poems—the heroine is as manifestly insincere in her temporary resistance as are most of the coy *bergerettes*.⁶⁷ The *dénouement* typical of the French *pastourelles*, when presented,⁶⁸ equals in explicitness its least admirable models. The lover usually accepts defeat or success in silence, but in late instances he is mocking or rebellious.⁶⁹

In spite of the evident French genesis of these *pastourelles*,

⁶² Cf. A 4, 14, 10, etc.

⁶³ A 4; cf. A 36, 41. Compare the French: *certes fole seroie, vostre parole gastez, ales vostre voie*, etc.

⁶⁴ A 16, 41. She argues that she is too mean a maid in the ballad, A 29; that she is faithful to her lover (A 29 and possibly 14; cf. ll. 18-21).

⁶⁵ A 4, 14, 16.

⁶⁶ A 41.

⁶⁷ A 10, 24.

⁶⁸ A 24 (Scotch), 41 (minstrel-ballad).

⁶⁹ A 41, 14. But the phrases with which the “Jacke” of 41 sets aside the girl’s request are a ballad commonplace (cf. Child, *Ballads*, I. pp. 444, 446), and not an echo of the *trouvère’s* mockery.

none of them so faithfully repeats the foreign models as does the Little Maid's Lament.⁷⁰ Indeed, most of them differ notably with regard to the special type of lyric poetry that they employ. One, though a typical *pastourelle* as regards the action portrayed, disguises the maiden as a mavis,—a device characteristic of the Tudor love-lyric.⁷¹ *The Murning Maidin*⁷² is influenced by the outlaw ballads; the girl, clad in green to glad the May, explains—

Thus man I bow and arrowis beir
Becauss I am ane baneist wycht,

and promises that while she is "under the levis grene" she will "no wyld beist wait with wrang." *The Crow and the Pie*⁷³ is a minstrel-ballad wholly devoted to the *pastourelle*

"A 4 and 16, both c. 1310, most clearly show traces of direct French influence, in spite of their different tenor; 10 and 24, both late Scotch, are closer than any of the others to the French *pastourelles* in realism and vivacity.

"A 14. Cf. "The lytyll prety ny,tyngale" (*Anglia*, XII. p. 263; cf. other songs using the phrase, "ye wot not whome I mene": *ibid.*, p. 260; MS. Ashmole 176, *sæc.* XVI. f. 100): the poems on "Robin reddebrest" and the "whyte" in *The Forrest of Fancie*, by H. C., 1579 (Corser, *Collectanea*, pt. III. Chetham Soc. LXXI. pp. 217 ff.): also "Sore this dere strykyn ys" (*Anglia*, XII. p. 238) and a similar *chanson d'aventure*, probably *sæc.* XVI. end, of which a modern transcript occurs in MS. Addit. 25478: "Yt was my chance for to advance myself not long agoe." Possibly the identification of heroine and mavis is a confusion arising from the fact that the mavis is mentioned in the first four lines, which may, in some earlier form, have represented the burden sung by a maiden, the true heroine; compare the four lines in question:

Hay how the mavys
on a brere
she satt *and* sang
with notes clere

with the lines contained in a medley in Constable's *MS. Cantus*, *sæc.* XVII (cf. Chambers, *The Scottish Songs*, I. p. xxxvi): "The mavis on a tree she sat | Sing with notes clear."

"A 36.

"A 41.

theme. *Christopher White* and *John of Hazelgreen*⁷⁴ are ballads in which the setting and situation peculiar to the *pastourelle* have been taken as point of departure; in the former a true *pastourelle*, growing out of the lament of a "well faire mayd," gives opportunity for a long sequel relating events occurring after "monthes two or three," and in the latter the intruding poet presents his plea, not for himself, but for his eldest son, who in the closing stanzas proves to be the very lover for whom the lady fair is letting the tears down fall.⁷⁵ Obviously these poems belong among the native ballads, but no less obviously the situation with which they open has come by some devious path from the *pastourelle* of mediæval France. The song beginning, "As I came by a bowre soo fayr" is in substance a *pastourelle*, though undeveloped beyond the poet's plea for favour, which is couched in courtly terms; the poet is "taken a prysoner," languishes, sleepless, in love's chains, and dares ask for no more than "some almes dede for owr ladyes sake."⁷⁶ Similarly, the song from Forbes's *Cantus* resolves itself after the encounter with the "may both fair and gay" into the pleading of the poet, her lover, who is "banisht through false report."⁷⁷ *Tayis Bank*, like the early undeveloped *pastourelle* of the rider by Rybbesdale,⁷⁸ is devoted completely after the record

⁷⁴ A 5, 29. For details characteristic of the *pastourelle*, cf. in 5, ll. 5, 10, 15, 21 ff.; in 29 (Text A), ll. 6, 9-10, 33-34, 36, 38-41, 51 ff. In 5, 29, and 41 the poet soon comes to speak of himself in the third person, as occasionally the *trouvère* does.

⁷⁵ Cf. the Old French *pastourelle* that ends with a lovers' meeting, Bartsch, II. 63.

⁷⁶ A 1. The *trouvère* speaks of himself as the prisoner of love, presumably referring to his devotion to some great lady, certainly not to his sudden fancy for Marot (Bartsch, II. 35).

⁷⁷ A 28. The existing copy (*sæc.* xvii) must represent an older text, since a religious adaptation exists in R 23, *sæc.* xvi. first half.—A *chevalier* complains likewise of the *faus losengier*, Bartsch, I. 61.

⁷⁸ A 35, like A 30 (c. 1310). The poet's caution in A 35 is explicable if the Mergrit of his song is really the daughter of the Drummonds of Perth, beloved by James IV., as has been supposed (cf. Laing, *Early Pop. Poetry*, note, I. pp. 169-171).

of the maiden's appearance to a glowing description of her beauty; the poet does not tell his sudden love. For these restrained variations of the usual *pastourelle* there is practically no French precedent.⁷⁹

In spirit, too, the English and Scotch *pastourelles* show certain differences from their foreign prototypes, which mark them as the productions of poets more interested in the human emotions, or even the moral issues, involved in their narratives, than in the narrative itself, and in a *dénouement* contrived to flatter their self-importance. In the first place there is practically nothing to suggest, much less to emphasize, class distinction between the maiden and her chance wooer.⁸⁰ The former is never a shepherdess, and though she is usually a creature of field or meadow, and by implication of less wealth than her suitor, yet she is apparently of no lower social rank, and is usually possessed of a dignity and independence that raise her perceptibly above the level of the *pastoure* who half-invites, half-resists and lightly yields; in one of the earliest songs⁸¹ she comes clad in fur and "riche riban gold begon," and as she walks through the meadow she keeps her eyes fast upon her book,—a strange proceeding for a descendent of the chaplet-weaving shepherdess. The lover is a mounted cavalier in only a few instances,⁸² and in one case the significance of his riding is entirely destroyed by the fact that the Gill whom he meets likewise "comes rydyng;"⁸³ if this Gill addresses him once as "corteor," she adds in the same breath, "pluke vp your helys, I yow beshrew," and scorns him with the titles "Hew,"

⁷⁹ Cf. Bartsch, I. 52, II. 63.

⁸⁰ Except in the ballads A 5, 29. There is a stronger impression of class distinction in the songs "Hey, trolly loly lo" and "Come over the woodes" noted above, note 44; but the lovers here are no true courtiers. The poet-lover and lady are both of some rank in A 1, 35.

⁸¹ A 4.

⁸² A 29, 30, 41; possibly 35 (cf. "ran I" and "I red").

⁸³ A 41.

and "Jenken," and "knave." Moreover, as has been noted, the girl's resistance is likely to be sincere and based on moral grounds unknown to the *bergère*:

Betere is were þunne boutē laste
þen syde robes ant synke in to synne.⁸⁴

The only examples of her coy refusal occur in late Scotch poems, and of her unhedged denial in minstrel-ballads. The yielding of the "murning maidin," though voluntary, is to a plea such as no *chevalier* offers:

Than knelit I befor that cleir
And meiklie could hir mercie craif;
That semelie than, with sobir cheir,
Me of hir gudlines forgaif.
It wes no neid, I wys,
To bid us uther kys;
Thair mycht no hairts mair joy resaif,
Nor ather culd of uther haif:
Thus brocht wer we to blys.⁸⁵

Finally, the traditional gross ending is usually avoided,—though two Scotch examples and the ballad of *Crow and Pie* offer exceptions,—or is handled with reserve; the undeveloped *pastourelles* eliminate all the action, or all that regularly follows the poet's first proffer of devotion. Thus the "sage and serious" English poets have delivered the *pastourelle* from much of its aristocratic bias; they have made it seem less like a bit of conventional pretense offered for the amusement of a courtly singer and his courtly audience, and have given it more of the sincerity that marks the popular ballad. They have invested it, too, with dignity and reserve. But they have robbed it of its rapid, almost tumultuous,

⁸⁴ A 16; the only comparable passage in the French *chansons* (Bartsch, III. 1) is not concerned at all with the idea of the sin involved.

⁸⁵ A 36.

movement, and likewise of its only other boast, its light and artificial grace. One feels that the poets with sober moral strain might have done better to direct their energies elsewhere, leaving the French cavalier and shepherdess undisturbed in their world of make-believe.

The love-laments uttered by the wandering poets are only nominally *chansons d'aventure*. They have adopted the setting in regular or modified form:

Not far fro marche in the ende of feuaryere
Allon I went vpon myn awn dysport,⁸⁶

or,

As I stoode in studyinge alloone
By myself bemenyng my moone.⁸⁷

They maintain the semblance of an actual adventure-poem; the author tells that he "gan to vnfolde" his woe to himself⁸⁸ or to the figure that appears to question him, the "myghti gret goddes" of love, or his own hope in human form.⁸⁹ But, concerned as they are solely with the poet's own feeling, they are properly foreign to the objective songs of adventure. They are imitations⁹⁰ of the courtly poems of Charles d'Orléans and his school, which have borrowed only the opening formula of the *chanson d'aventure*.

⁸⁶ A 32. (Possibly the poet's grievance is political; cf. note on A 32 in Appendix B.)

⁸⁷ A 3.

⁸⁸ A 3, 32, 46. In A 21 the pretense of an actual time and setting is dropped, but resumed vaguely in the closing line.

⁸⁹ A 26, 3.

⁹⁰ A 26 is a literal translation of a poem by Charles d'Orléans (the single known case of direct translation in A, and indeed, except for R 12, in any of the four groups). A 26, 32, 46 are attributed by Professor MacCracken to the Duke of Suffolk, the friend of Charles d'Orléans (cf. A 26, Appendix B).

B. RELIGIOUS

Religious *chansons d'aventure* appear in England as early as their earliest amorous counterparts. They are as numerous in the fourteenth century as the songs of love-adventure, and twice as numerous in the fifteenth, when they find a place among the ponderous products of the Lydgatians as well as among the bright carols; but after 1500 they are decidedly outnumbered by the love-lyrics.

The forms that are proper to the amorous *chanson dramatique* are reproduced among the religious *chansons d'aventure*; the monologue of a maiden or a man, the dialogue, the conversation of a group, and the chorus of birds are overheard by an unobtrusive poet. The only forms, in fact, that do not appear in religious revision are the lament of the maid as yet unloved and of the *femme mal mariée*,—the latter especially being a form that does not readily lend itself to religious adaptation.¹ Among the monologues those of Mary are more numerous than those of her Son; and among them all there is but one by a singer "withowt dystresse, in grete lyghtnesse." This is a carol which has apparently been suggested by some secular song like that of Besse "makyng her mone" in the wilderness because she is "goten with child":²

Under a tre, in sportyng me
Alone by a wod syd,
I hard a mayd that swetly sayd,
I am with chyld this tyd.³

But her song proves to be of "rejoycyng":

¹ Cf., however, the theme allegorized by a French clerk, laboring *prava in bonum exponere*, who explains that the *dame mau mariée* is the soul, bound to sin, and that the Saviour calls it to his love. (A. Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française au Moyen Age*, 1868, pp. 186 f.)

² A 27; cf. A 43.

³ R 26.

Gracyusly conceyvyd have I
The son of God so swete;

and its burden is a happy "nowel."⁴

The laments of Mary and Christ in *chanson d'aventure* form⁵ are the results of a somewhat different process of adaptation; they are with a single exception⁶ formal *planctus*, such as might exist (and in fact in two cases⁷ do exist) independent of the framework; each has been fitted out with a preface borrowed either from some amorous *chanson d'aventure* or from some religious poem that has already adopted such a preface.⁸ Thus a *planctus Mariae* in unbroken monologue form constitutes the body of the poem beginning:

In a chyrch as I gan knelle
Thys endres dey fore to here messe,
I saw a syght me lykyd welle;
.
.
.
I saw a pyte in a place.⁹

The *planctus Christi* are monologues interrupted only by the poet's sympathetic question:

I askide whi he had peynynge,
He seide 'quia amore langueo';¹⁰

⁴ In some of its phrasing, as in its burden, it connects itself with the lullaby-carols; cf. ll. 15-16 ("With my derlyng, lullay to syng | And lovely hym to roke") ll. 20, 21, etc.

⁵ R 1, 11, 18 (Mary); 19, 24 (Christ).

⁶ R 1.

⁷ Cf. R 18 in Appendix B; also R 24.

⁸ R 11 and 19 (beginning respectively, "As resoun rewlied my richeless mynde" and "In a valey of þis restles mynde") seem to be making independent use of a formula already established for prefaces to spiritualized adventure-songs. Cf. also R 18 (c. 1500) which employs almost the same modification of the usual formula as D 22 a (c. 1370).

⁹ R 18.

¹⁰ R 19. The phraseology of the *planctus* owes much to the *Song of*

or by his abrupt adoption of the rôle of interpreter:

Criste on a crosse I sawe hangyng,

To man he cried and sayde, 'Alas!

Why art þou, man, vnkynde to me?

And now I dye to geve þe grace.

Quid ultra debui facere?'

Criste Ihesu pies wordes may saye

To euery creature þat is vnkynde:

'What shulde I more, man, I þe praye?'¹¹

The well-known Mary-lament on the theme, *Filius regis mortuus est*¹² is likewise, in two versions, a monologue, not interrupted even by the poet's question; in a third it is answered, in the poet's hearing, by a "voice from heuen" announcing, "*filius Regis* is alyve *et non mortuus est*"; in a fourth it forms the basis for a dramatic scene in which the poet plays the consoler, informer, questioner, and expositor, going at Mary's bidding to worship at the Cross, meeting three women and "angelis with gret lithe," returning to the mourning mother with the tidings, *Resurrexit! non mortuus est*, and finally explaining to his readers why it was necessary that the King's Son should die. The traditional carol, "All under the leaves and the leaves of life,"¹³ has the appearance of being a popular echo of some such elaborate *planctus*. The poet meets Mary, one of seven virgins, and on learning that she seeks her Son, he bids her go down to

Solomon (cf. Furnivall's side notes, *Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, pp. 181 ff.).—For *Quia Amore Languo* (*Cant. Cant.* II. 5 and v. 8) taken as a text, cf. *The Form of Perfect Living*, ed. Horstmann, *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, London, 1895, I. p. 29.

¹² R 24.—For *Quid Ultra Debui Facere* as the text of a sermon in verse, cf. MS. Ashmole 180, Pt. II. f. 104 (sæc. xv); there are some parallels with R 24, but the poem is not a *planctus*.

¹³ R 11.

¹⁴ R 1.

yonder town and behold sweet Jesus Christ nailed to a yew tree. Mary goes, weeps at the foot of the Cross, and is comforted by her Son. In such poems as the last two the poet necessarily maintains, more or less consistently, the part of adventurer; but in the simpler forms he abandons it the moment that Mary or Christ begins to utter the *planctus* proper. He makes use, too, of an abbreviated preface that contains little suggestion of an actual, human encounter; in only one instance—Christ's *Quia Amore Languo*—do traces of the usual preliminary action remain:

In a valey of þis restles mynde
 I souyte in mounteyne *and* in myde
 Trustyng a trewe loue for to fynde.
 Vpon an hil þan y took hede;
 A voice y herde—*and* neer y ȝede—
 In huge dolour complaynyng þo,
 'Se, dere soule, how my sidis blede,
Quia amore languo.'

Vpon þis hil y fond a tree;
 Vndir þe trece a man sittynge.
 From heed to foot woundid was he,
 His herte blood y siȝ bledinge:—
 A semeli man to ben a king,
 A graciouse face to loken vnto;
 I askide whi he had peynyng.¹⁴

¹⁴ R 19.—Certain other *planctus* may be mentioned here because they are set into a narrative framework; they differ from the *chanson d'aventure* proper by virtue of the vision element. Cf. the *Quia Amore Languo* of Mary (*Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, p. 177) of which R 19 is probably a kind of continuation (cf. note, p. 180, and also the fact that a comparison of this text and those of Harl. 1706 and Douce 322, both *sæc.* xv, proves that the three must have a common source); "Who cannot wepe," *Hymns to V. and C.* p. 126; "My feerful dreame," Herrig's *Archiv.* cvl. p. 64.—The carol beginning, "I hard a maydyn wepe | ffor here sonnys passyon" (ms. Cambr. Ee. 1. 12, *sæc.* xv. f. 1 b) is a dramatic narrative of the Passion; the maiden does not appear

The dialogues between Mary and Christ take the form of carols, divine lullabies.¹⁵ One, occurring in a song-book of the early sixteenth century, represents an incomplete transformation of a maiden's love-lament into a religious lullaby-song, as the setting and the incongruous burden testify:

Alone, alone, alone, alone
 Alone, alone, alone.
 Here I sytt alone, alas, alone.
 As I me walkyd this endurs day
 To the grene wode for to play
 and all heuyness to put away
 myselfe alone
 As I walkyd vndir the grene wode bowe
 I sawe a maide fayre I now
 a childe she hoppid she song she lough
 þat childe wepid alone.¹⁶

It is not till this point, half-way through the song, that the dialogue of the usual lullaby type begins, proving that this child is the One born "to save mankind." The other lyrics of this class show no traces of such metamorphosis. They retain a maiden as their foremost figure, it is true, and they are embellished with prefatory lines familiarized to their composers through many an adventure-song, secular or religious:

As I up ros in a mornynge
 My thowth was on a mayd þyng
 That song aslep with hyr lullyng
 Her swet son, owr Savowr;¹⁷

after l. 1. (The lines are formulary; cf. their use as burden in a similar poem, Dyboski, *Ball. MS.* 354, p. 41; cf. also "I saw my lady weep(ing)," Arber, *An English Garner*, III. p. 41, IV. p. 522.)

¹⁵ R 5, 6, 7; R 1 ("All under the leaves") mentioned in connection with the *planctus*, introduces conversation between Mary and her crucified Son.

¹⁶ R 6.

¹⁷ R 5.

but they are genuine sacred carols, as the plaintive words of the babe attest:

'Syng now, moder!' sayd þe child,
'What schal me befall
Aftur wen I come til eld,
ffor so done moders all.'¹⁸

The French adventure-song introducing a pastoral group finds counterpart in some sixteenth century carols in which the poet rides out to hear the "terli terlow" of three holy shepherds, or their cries of wonder at the heavenly chorus, *Veritas de terra orta est*, and follows their star-guided way to "Bethlem";¹⁹ in an earlier song of more didactic strain the narrator finds a bright woman in an arbour singing *Verbum caro factum est*, and learns the meaning of the words from her and from three shepherds and three kings whom he meets "ferþere more in þat fryth."²⁰ A very different group greets the poet of a winsome carol as he passes by a chapel;²¹ for there he sees Our Lord, carrying a chalice of rich red gold to the service, while St. Thomas rings the bells and St. George tends the fair tapers. To the adventure-

¹⁸ R 7. For dialogues similarly introduced, but with a stronger suggestion of the vision, cf. the lullabies beginning, "This endris night I saw a sight" (Chambers and Sidgwick, pp. 119, 121, Herrig's *Archiv*, cvi. p. 60), also one of which a very poor text exists in ms. Harl. 2380 (sæc. xv. late), f. 70 b ("þis endres nyght About mydayght [sic] As I me lay for to slepe").—In many carols only the element of the poet's presence survives; cf. "I saw a fayr maydyn sytten and synge," Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 131; cf. also Rickert, *Carols*, p. 59; Dyboski, *Ball. MS. 354*, pp. 21, 23, Sylvester, *Christmas Carols*, p. 41, etc.—A vision poem, sæc. xv. (ms. Harl. 2255, f. 150 b) presents a dialogue between Christ and Mary, who has been translated to heaven, and who is lauded by celestial choirs singing *Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas*, which forms the refrain line. The poem begins, "Undir a park ful prudently pyght."

¹⁹ R 8, 3.—"I heard a mess of merry shepherds sing" (Rickert, *Carols*, p. 109) is comparable.

²⁰ R 10.

²¹ R 2.

carols of this type the traditional ballad of *The Carnal and the Crane* ²² belongs by virtue of its substance, in spite of the fact that the speakers are not shepherds; the crane "in argument" tells the carnal of a Child whose cradle was softened not with silken sheets but with provender rejected by asses, and whose sacred life King Herod sought in vain.

The only one of these lyrics that suggests even remotely an amorous original is the *Verbum Caro Factum Est*, which opens in the manner of secular song:

I passud thorow a garden grene
 I fond a herbere made full newe
 A semelyor syght I haff nocht sene
 O ylke tree sange a tyrtull trew
 Theryn a maydon bryght off hew
 And euer sche sange and neuer sche sesest,

but which continues in the fashion adopted by the English moralists from the inquisitive strolling lovers:

I askud that mayden what sche mentt
 Sche bad me byde and I schuld here
 What sche sayd I toke gude tent
 In hyr songe had sche voice full clere.

Among the religious *chansons dramatiques* the nightingale is found warbling of the risen Christ just as she has sung in the love-lyrics of young lovers and the May. It is not at all remarkable that birds should be represented as singing on sacred themes; the secular poet himself listens to the lark as it *chante et loie son signor*.²³ The pious clerks were perhaps especially impelled to compose divine avian choruses by their desire to counteract the excessive praise of earthly love commonly attributed to the songsters,—the protest at the close of the birds' Parliament of Love furnishes a case

²² R 9.

²³ Bartsch, I. 30 a.

in point,—²⁴ and, above all, to reclaim for the glory of God the phrases of hymn or liturgy which were being debased in amorous parodies sung by birds.²⁵ However this may be, they prefer for their bird-choruses the form either of a sacred antiphonal service or of an *estrif* in which the love of God is magnified at the expense of earthly love. In the pseudo-Lydgatian *Devotions of the Fowls*²⁶ and in a sixteenth century poem in Skelton's vein, *The Armonye of Byrdes*,²⁷ the poet goes abroad in a scene of vernal "vyridite" and hears birds singing a responsive service in praise of the Deity; the song of each bird is composed in part of phrases taken from Latin hymns or from the Latin liturgy. *The Armonye* is the work of a sophisticated poet, as its introduction bears witness:

²⁴ Cf. *Philomela*, by Peckham (?), in Bonaventura's works, ed. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1882-98, VIII. pp. 669-74; *Rossignol messenger*, Herrig's *Archiv*, CXI. p. 123; a sermon, MS. Harl. 2339, f. 72 b, on the theme, "how ech man and womman may lerne to loue and serue god ech in his degree. takyng ensauple bi þre foolis þat clerkis callen foulis of loue. þe lارke. þe nytyngale. and þe turtildowue is þe bridde." The *exempla* follow. The lark flies heavenward at dawn singing of her gratitude to God; the nightingale sings ever, with a thorn against his breast "to make him þat he slepe not"; the turtle dove, when she once chooses her mate, will never have another, "and whanne he is deed from hire; sche morneþ euer." With such devotion as these birds display "lordis and ladies schulden lerne also to loue god."

²⁵ Cf. Neilson, *Court of Love*, pp. 220 ff.

²⁶ R 4.

²⁷ R 27. The two poems are differentiated from *La Messe des Oiseaux* and the *Matins* (Neilson, *Court of Love*, pp. 225 ff., 216 ff.), by their simpler structure and by the complete absence of parody or of adherence to the regular order of divine service—the basis for Professor Neilson's doubt as to the genuine devoutness of the two poems (p. 227) not being clear. R 4 and 27 probably represent a common original; the five birds in the *Devotions* appear, with many others, in the *Armonye*; the pelican (in both) figures neither in *La Messe* nor in the *Matins*. Plainly R 27 does not derive directly from R 4, and neither derives directly from such poems as *La Messe*.

Whan Dame Flora
 In die aurora
 Had covered the meadow with flowers,
 And all the fylde
 Was over distylde
 With lusty Aprell showers;
 For my disporte
 Me to comforte
 Whan the day began to spring,
 Foorth I went
 With a good intent
 To here the byrdes sing;

but its simpler phrasing and its tripping metre mark it as in closer touch with popular poetry than the pedantic *Derotions*:

As I me lenyd unto a joyful place
 Lusty Phebus to supervide
 . . . I herd a voyce celestialle,
 Rejoysyng my spirites inwardly,
 Of dyverse foules.

In Dunbar's *Merle and Nightingale*, beginning:

In May as that Aurora did vpspring
 With cristall ene chasing the cluddis sable,
 I hard a merle with mirry notis sing
 A sang of lufe . . .²⁸

²⁸ R 20. The burden of the merle's song is "A lusty lyfe in luves scheruice bene."—The poem is undoubtedly in the tradition of the *Owl and Nightingale*, *Thrush and Nightingale*, etc.,—a tradition presumably Middle-Latin or French or Provençal in origin (cf. Wells, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, Boston, 1907, pp. liii ff.; Gadow, *Das Mittelhochl. Streitgedicht Eule u. Nachtigall*, *Palaestra*, LXV. pp. 14 ff.); but its simple lyric form and the details of its prelude betray the influence of the *chanson d'aventure* tradition, with which Dunbar was familiar. In this connection, it may be noted that the elaborate "contention-

the nightingale prevails upon his antagonist to join him in his song, "All luve is lost bot vpone God allone." The simpler form of bird-song in praise of the Creator occurs only in the sixteenth century effort of a would-be caroller who tells of going forth to hear the birds conspiring with trees, flowers, beasts, and fishes, "to make hus mery," and ends his poor Spring-song with an appeal that we worship the Giver of all this gladness.²⁹ Clearly, all the poems of this group owe their structure in part to the tradition established by the corresponding group of secular *chansons d'aventure* in France; but though Dunbar's poem and the *Armonye* contain suggestions of secular ancestry, none bears any evidence of direct relationship to any secular song.

When the poet of a *chanson d'aventure* offers his devotion

poems" in the Latin, French, and Provençal, possessing a narrative introduction and sometimes presenting birds,—cf. *Melior et Idoine*, *Rom.* xv. pp. 332-34, *Geste de Blancheflour et Florence*, Langlois, *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*, pp. 14-15,—have been influenced by the more popular lyrics of adventure, especially such as present birds singing each *on leur latin*, Bartsch, I. 30 a; cf. for instance the phrasing in *Melior et Idoine*, ll. 13-18:

Eu tens de may, ceux longe jours,
 Chauntent oyseaus e creissent flours,
 Par un matin m'en levoi,
 Si mountoy mon palefroi
 E aloi vers une cité
 Qe Nincol est appelées.

* R 22. A popular vision-poem (sæc. XVI) beginning, "After mydnyght, when dremes dothe fawll" (Wright, *Songs and Ball.* Roxb. Club, p. 32, Halliwell, *Wit and Science*, Shak. Soc. p. 89, Collier, *Extracts from Stationers' Registers*, Shak. Soc. I. p. 186; transcribed in MS. Addit. 25478, sæc. XIX), utters a similar appeal, making apparently deliberate use of the phraseology of the popular adventure-lyrics as a means of protest against those very lyrics (somewhat in the manner of Gautier de Coincy):

And se thou walk among thes flowres
 Not for to pastime, jest, and play,
 But reverently pressyng thy powres.

to Mary or to Christ, and implores mercy, he is approaching as near as he can to the *pastourelle*. In a few poems standing midway between the *chanson dramatique* and the *pastourelle* he is moved to the expression of his own feeling by an encounter with some object other than that of his adoration; a poet of the late fourteenth century hears at evensong "a Reson . . . written with wordes þre," which leads him to exposition of its meaning and to prayer; ³⁰ Hoccleve in his *Balade translatee au commandement de mon Meistre Robert Chichele* ³¹ prays to Mary and to Christ after seeing "a crois depeynted with a fair ymage"; Lydgate owes his inspiration for his "balladys" on the "gladnessys" and "hevynnessys" of the Virgin ³² to his chance unclosing of a volume bearing "an ymage ful notable" of Mary, "lyke a pyte." Obviously these poems are the result of "dilligent and cleer inspeccioun" more than of emotion; in their tendency to explain the encountered symbol or inscription they stand very close to the purely didactic *chanson d'aventure*.

The *pastourelles* inspired by a meeting with Mary or Christ, or by the thought of one or the other of them, are more truly lyric. In only one of these religious *pastourelles*—a fifteenth century minstrel-song—³³ does the poet venture actually to woo Mary as his "leman," and then only when he has disguised her as a bright bird:

By one foreste as I cone ryde
I saw a byrd by a woode syde,
Bryte sche was of ble.

³⁰ R 21.

³¹ R 12. The identical "balade" translated by Hoccleve I am able to point out in a French fragment, *sæc.* XIV. ed. P. Meyer, *Rom.* VIII. pp. 335 f. The twenty-one lines printed by M. Meyer prove that Hoccleve is translating almost word for word, without amplifying or abridging, and preserving the rhyme scheme, even the actual rhyme words, when possible.

³² R 14.

³³ R 15.

Rejoiced at her beauty, he listens to her sighing song, and abides "to witt of whene sche wore"; but like the shepherdess, she is afraid:

And as sone as sche se me
Sche toke her flyte.

He follows, and taking her "by the wengus" he questions her gently, whereupon he is rebuked in words unmistakably patterned directly or indirectly on those of the resisting heroine of some *pasiourelle*:

I hasked the byrd of her wylle;
The byrd answerd and sayd,—Do way!
Me lykes noȝte of thy play,
Ne talkyng of thy talys:
I am known undere thys tre,
So as I come, let me fle.

The bird begins to lament the loss of her former cage, but the poet is as ready with promises as ever was the *trouvère*:

Nay dere byrd, let be thy care,
And thou woldus gladly with me fare
And leve one my talkynge;
Thy cage shal be made anewe.

"What should my cage be, should I love you?" queries the bird, open to persuasion, like the *bergerette*. The poet begins to describe it, its floor of "argentum, clene sylver," and its posts of cypress, chosen by Jesus "off bale to be owre bote." This cage is made for the love of Mary, he explains, and then adds a somewhat confusing identification of the bird with the Trinity:

The mane that better cage make canne
 Take thys byrd to his lemane
 That is the Trinite.

The author is undoubtedly writing with full knowledge of the amorous *pastourelle*, French or English; his strange poem takes its place beside the Tudor *pastourelle* in which the poet vainly pursues a woodland creature, half maid and half mavis.³⁴

No other clerks have the temerity to address their fervent praise or entreaty to the holy object of their worship;³⁵ they depend on the thought of Mary, or of "Crist sa fre" or of their own "folie" for a means of introduction to their songs. The three admirable lyrics of this class in Harleian ms. 2253 undoubtedly owe their form and structure to French convention, but none of them betrays French influence in substance. Indeed, these poets come "from petresbourh" and know the country "from catenas in to dyuelyn";³⁶ and they manifest a distinctively English tendency to choose dark autumnal settings and to think "wiþ dreri herte" of death and sin and suffering:

* A 14. In the much lovelier French lyrics in which bird and maiden natures are fused, the fusion is not made for the purpose either of disguise or of allegory (Bartsch, I. 29, 28; the latter not an adventure-song).

* In the Elizabethan period Barnabe Barnes with a happy simulation of naïveté feigns an actual encounter (Arber, *An English Garner*, v. p. 446):

Upon a holy Saintes Eve
 As I took my pilgrimage
 Wand'ring through the forest wary,
 Blest be that holy Saint!
 I met the lovely Virgin, Mary!

But the poem is not precisely a case in point, for the Mary addressed as "my Saint chaste and mild" clearly betokens the poet's own *dame sans merci*; it is not a religious adaptation so much as a reversion from religious adaptation to the original amorous type.

* R 17.

wel ichot, ant soþ hit ys,
 þat in þis world nys no blys,
 bote care, serewe, & pyne.²⁷

None of the three poems, moreover, bears sign of adaptation from love-song; the praise of Mary in terms proper to amorous addressees, such as marks the song on the Five Joys, is a recognized convention of Mary-poems:

wip al mi lif y loue þat may,
 he is mi solas nyht & day,
 my ioie, & eke my beste play,
 ant eke my louelongyng.²⁸

With the two sixteenth century "godly ballatis" the case is different; for one is the spiritualization of the "undeveloped" *pastourelle*, "Into a mirthfull May morning" (known to us only in an English text later than this Scotch "parody"), and the other is presumably a similar adaptation, since its opening line occurs in two Scottish adventure-songs of the period, one amorous and one moral.²⁹

C. DIDACTIC

The moral *chansons d'aventure* form a conspicuous group of fourteenth century poems preserved in the Vernon ms.; in the fifteenth century they almost equal in number all the other adventure-songs, secular or religious, and they fill a

²⁷ R 25.

²⁸ R 13.

²⁹ The two religious songs are R 23, which preserves not only the opening lines, but the rhyme-words, of the first strophe of A 28, the amorous original; and R 16, with l. 1 of which ("Downe be þone Riuer I ran") cf. D 2 b, l. 1 and A 35, ll. 3-4, ("Be that rever ran I doun rycht | Vndir the ryss I red"). Mitchell, *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, p. 270, comments on the parallel between R 23 and A 28, and conjectures, p. 281, that R 16 is the adaptation of some secular ballad.

modest place in the song and carol collections of the early sixteenth. Outwardly they are of the established order. They possess the regular preface, though it is patently an adventitious element or a meaningless survival. They incorporate monologues attributed to various figures: never to women (though a maid's lament serves in one case as a brief preliminary to a bird's disquisition),¹ but to men (a "mane" or "wiht," "ane aigit man," a typical personage, a "schepperde" who betrays not a single pastoral quality, "ffrere Henri"),² to a "voyse ryght mervelus obscure,"³ to birds (nightingale, turtle, lark, "Synderisis"),⁴ and to "lettres" written on a wall, ring, ribbon or robe, hood, briar-leaf, or book.⁵ They embody informal dialogues between a "maye" and a "turtille," a "kynd cheild" and "the nichtingall," or the poet and a bird,⁶ and formal debates between two men ("þe synner" and "Merci", Meed and Thank, or "Aige" and "ȝowth");⁷ they set forth a "spekyng" of a company of clerks, apparently of an admirable unanimity, and a "Resoun" which the poet propounds in soliloquy.⁸

¹ D 23. In D 3 a dream-lady figures momentarily as the bearer of the graven ring.

² *Man*, etc., D 7, 8, 9 c, 10, 32; *old man*, 1, 10, 27; *Mercy*, etc., 12, 26, 31; *shepherd*, 5; *friar*, 11 (cf. 22, 25; cf. also an incomplete song which presumably once possessed the preface characteristic of the *chanson d'aventure*, Herrig's *Archiv*, LXXXVI. p. 387: "How judicare come in crede"; see last two lines).

³ D 37.

⁴ *Nightingale*, D 18 (cf. 30); *turtle*, 23, 30; *lark*, 28; "Synderisis," 36 (cf. "Dame Conscience," 17); birds of undefined species, 2, 4, 9, 14, 15, 16, 35. Cf. the fieldfare that sings at the poet's study window in Lydgate's poem, closely allied to the *chansons d'aventure*, which begins, "Toward the ende of frosty January." (Halliwell, *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, p. 156; cf. Lydgate, ed. MacCracken, p. xx, no. 69.) Cf. also the bird with a "devys" in a song which apparently once possessed a narrative preface. (Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club, p. 1.)

⁵ *Wall*, D 6, 13, 33; *ring*, 3; *ribbon*, 20; *hood*, 21; *briar*, 24; *book*, 29; cf. 31 (words written on the breast of a speaker).

⁶ D 23, 18, 36.

⁷ D 12, 26, 31.

⁸ D 25, 34.

There is, however, no inevitable relation between form and theme; a given theme does not carry with it as a matter of course, a given form. The themes, moreover, bear little likeness to those already discussed. Not only the maiden's song of joy or sorrow has disappeared, but every analogous expression of genuine personal feeling. Every song of the series embodies either a conventional lament of penitence or regret for vanished joys, or an instructive or admonitory discourse.⁹ Poems of the latter type are quite impersonal, being addressed only nominally to the listening poet, and in reality to sinful man:

Mon on Molde, pou make þe jare
A-jeyn þi deþ on domes-day.¹⁰

Though the learned turtle adapts his opening remarks to the special case of the mourning maid, he addresses the thirty or more strophes that follow to mankind in general.¹¹ The moral maxims or sermons inscribed on wayside walls are necessarily for the benefit of all passers by. The laments give opportunity for the expression of somewhat greater individuality; the sinners allude to experience that purports to be personal, and they occasionally limit their ground for remorse to some single and definite type of misdoing,—the squandering of youth in Venus's service, or of a patrimony

⁹ Instructive and admonitory poems are on such themes as the power of divine love, seen in Biblical history (23) or in the example of Christ, the pelican, Dido, etc. (30), variability (3, 4, 10, 34), fidelity in friendship (5, 28, 35), untrustworthiness (37), the brevity of youth (31), the motives and rewards of service (21, 26), the relative potency of Mercy and Right (12, 15), the certain approach of Judgment (29), Make Amends (14; cf. 11, 24, 36), Thank God (13, 22), Do For Thyself (2), Ever Say Well or Hold Thee Still (6, 33), For the Better Abide (20), Measure Thee (17, 25). Poems of penitence or regret relate to old age (1, 27, 32), loss of gold and favour (18, 19), repentance for sins, with fear of death and desire for mercy (7, 8, 9, 16).

¹⁰ D 11.

¹¹ D 23.

in dining and drinking.¹² But as a rule the personal allusion is merely a fleeting preliminary to the enunciation of a moral truth, as when a bird complains,

. . . . I not how longe
My fere & I togeder shall be
.
.
.
For welfare hath no sykernes,¹³

or an "oolde man" remarks,

Now age is copen on me ful stille
And makip me oold & blac of ble,
And y go downeward wip þe hille;
þis World is but a vanite.¹⁴

It is almost always purely conventional, as the reader suspects when he hears a man sigh:

I have be lorde of towr and towne,
I sett not be my grett renowne;
For deth wyll pluckyd all downe;
The dred off deth do trobyll me.¹⁵

It is assuredly so in the case of the sad wight who admits that he has misspent his five wits, constantly broken all the Commandments, and committed all the seven sins,¹⁶ and likewise in the case of the bird who ascribes his fall to his "forhede large" and "browes bent" and to the beguilement of his mirror, and who avows further:

full many a man I dyd vnreste.
They that wold nat myne heste fulfyll
My knyfe was redy to hys breste.
.
.
.
When I was most in all my flowres

¹² D 1, 19.
¹³ D 4.

¹⁴ D 10.
¹⁵ D 9 c.

¹⁶ D 8; cf. 7.

And had aboute me wyfe and chylde,
I lost my catell and my toures.

ffortune hath pulled ryches fro me.
Your wreche, lorde, I cannat blame.
*Parce michi, domine!*¹⁷

Such poems presumably owe nothing directly to French influence, and they owe very little beyond their general outline to their English analogues of secular content. A few, however, are reminiscent of amorous origin. The bird who warbles the unexpected song "Asay thy frend or thou hast ned" is not unlike the mavis who "stode yn fere" and then "flo her way":¹⁸

Of me I trow she was agast,
She tok hyr flyȝth in lenth and bred;

and the poet's action is more suggestive of the poet-lover's than is that of the ordinary adapter:¹⁹

Under a forest that was so long
As I me rod with mekyll dred,
I hard a berd syngyng a song;

I ther stod and hoked styll,
To a tre I teyd my sted;

Me thouȝt it was a wonder noyse,
Alwey ner and ner I ȝed.

One can believe that this fifteenth century caroller has in mind, definitely or indefinitely, some English song telling

¹⁷ D 16.

¹⁸ D 35; cf. A 14.

¹⁹ Usually the didactic poet pauses, takes good heed, draws near, stands in wonderment or study, before he asks the question that frees the tongue of his interlocutor, or before he himself begins to sermonize; cf. D 2 b, 4, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 24, 29, 30, 35, 36.

of a woodland wooing. Again, the sixteenth century dialogue of a Scottish "nichtingall" and a sorry "cheild" ²⁰ apparently represents the imperfect reconciliation of an amorous and a moral theme. The dejected man seems to be convinced that all worldly joy depends on riches, a theory that calls forth pained protest from the bonny bird:

Is thi God ather deid or seik
Nor he ma mend the of thy cair?
Quhat wantis thow lythis or landis braid
Or gold or geir to the ending day?

But when the "cheild" suggests that his particular grievance is caused by a gay lady who has forsaken him "for falt of gold," the nightingale eagerly resumes his time-honoured office of lovers'-counsellor, and advises good cheer:

Giff that thow luiffit that ladie
Bot aue sa sorrofull and sa trew
Peraduentour hir knyght ma die;
Scho will marie the and the low.

Obviously the writer gives his narrative this unforeseen turn in the knowledge of the tradition founded by *rosignol* and *trouvère*; but, refusing to confess to any change of front, he irrelevantly concludes—

Off this ballet ye will [leir]
Bot God will be God quhen gold is gane.

A much earlier and worthier northern poet composes the preliminary portion of a discourse on *The iiii Leues of the True Loue* ²¹ under the influence of a loveless maid's lament.

²⁰ D 18.

²¹ D 23. On the true-love flower cf. Rickert, *Emare*, E. E. T. S. Extra Series XCIX. l. 125 and note; Skeat, *Chauc. Pieces, Court of Love*, l. 1440 and note, p. 553; also *Twenty-Six Poems*, p. 78, l. 185, and *Anglia*, XXXI. p. 381.

Abroad on his playing, in May-time, he meets with an adventure:

Was I warre of a maye þat made mournyng

Hir wepynge dide me woughe:

Undir a tree I me droughe:

Hir wille walde I wete.

When a turtle on a tree, equally curious, asks, "Whi syghys you so sare?" the girl readily divulges her secret:

A trewe-lufe hafe I soughte be waye *and* be strete:

In many faire orcherdis þer floures er [ine]:

Als ferre als I hafe soughte fande I nane yete.

This confession furnishes the bird with a text for a tedious sermon on the sacred "trew-lufe grysse," rehearsing its history from the Creation till the Assumption, and looking forward to its influence at the Day of Doom; at the tardy close the patient maiden is recalled to our minds:

Thus this trewe turtylle techis this may:

Scho blyssede his body his bone *and* his blode;

Vnto þat ilke ferthe lefe I rede þat we praye:

This herde I in a lay

Als I wente one my way

In a mornynge of may

Whene medowes salle sprynge.

But the existence of such a bond between the moral *chanson d'aventure* and its amorous past is exceptional. Usually the poet is wholly preoccupied with a lesson that he would teach, and turns to it at the earliest possible moment:

Throwe a towne as y com ryde,

Y sawe wretyn on a wall

A leffe of letterys long and wyde:
 'Hyre, and se, and sey not all!'
 And yff thow wolte thys lesson lere
 And covetyste to dwell yn compeny,
 What thow seyyste farre or nere,
 Looke it towche to no velany.²²

His cry is far indeed from the lyric cry.

D. MISCELLANEOUS

To him who loves a ballad, as well as to him who relishes a sermon, the Middle English *chanson d'aventure* has much to offer. It is true that the adventure-lyrics of political, satiric, or occasional nature occupy the position of least importance by virtue of their late appearance and their comparative infrequency;¹ but they outrank their didactic analogues in fidelity to the traditions of their class. The poets of these miscellaneous adventure-songs attribute the monologues or dialogues² to very life-like spokesmen; they have nothing to do with the stilted inscriptions and pale abstractions that their more pious brothers preferred, and they readmit lamenting or rejoicing women to a prominence quite denied them by "frere Henri" and his like.³ Moreover, their manner is convincing; they record events that impress one as actual, or feelings that bear the stamp of

²² D 33.

¹ Only about one-sixth of the pre-Elizabethan *chansons d'aventure* fall into this class; of these but one (2 a) dates before 1400, and less than half, including the traditional ballads, belong to the fifteenth century.

² All the poems of M are in the form of *chansons dramatiques*; there are two author's soliloquies (M 1, 7), but no proffer of devotion to correspond to the *pastourelle*. (A 32, a poet's soliloquy, is possibly to be considered as a political poem; cf. A 32 in Appendix B.)

³ M 11, 14, 17, 20, 22; cf. 16, 23, women in disguise of falcon, turtle, etc.

genuineness, and are inspired by some particular situation or occasion. The poet himself bewails his faithless friends in no merely conventional fashion:

als I me sat my self allon
 in my hart makand my mon,
 I said, 'allas, my gammys ar gon!
 qwat sal I do?
 that I most trayste
 it is all waste!
 sor may me rew!'⁴

or reports a goodly lady's very human "adewe and ffarewelle" to royal favour:

I am exilid

Yet all the faut wasse not in me.⁵

The poet does not eliminate the personal element from his narrative even when—as is usually the case—he has some ulterior motive for relating his adventure, such as the suggestion of a salutary lesson, the praise or blame or defense of some noble contemporary, the reform of social or political evils, or the instruction or diversion of the reader. The poet puts his praises or protests into the mouth of the person or persons most vitally concerned. Eleanor of Gloucester tells simply of her bare-foot walk of penance through London town,⁶ with little insistence except in the recurring burden of her song on the theme that all women may of her "insampull take"; the hunted hare arouses pity solely by setting forth, graphically enough, his own side of the case.⁷ Elizabeth of York, who is undoubtedly represented by the

⁴M 1.

⁵M 11. (A similarly realistic expression of feeling marks the *Two Corbies*, M 9.)

⁶M 22.

⁷M 12.

"comely quene" of the White Rose Carol, sings of her joy in England's "lyly whijt rose";⁸ the divorced Catharine and the usurping Anne voice their own defense, though in the easily penetrated guise of lioness and falcon.⁹ "Threedbare Conscience" tells his own tale of rebuffs in court and mart and chapel;¹⁰ ploughman and shepherd and John Nobody express, as plainly as they dare, their discontent with abuses that touch them personally,—the heavy rents that force from countrymen the cry, "Thus be we shepe shorne," or shortcomings of the pastors who do not "kepe well the shepe of Crystis fold."¹¹ Even when a speaker occupies himself with satire of a more general nature, as against womankind, he desires some connection with the case; a man feigns an eagerness to reply to woman's traducers (with whom as a matter of fact he warmly concurs),¹² and the Misogynic Nightingale is moved to berate the much abused sex by his observation of a clerk, love-sick "for on þat is so schene."¹³ Likewise a "voce on hicht" makes of itself the exemplar of its theme:

Be I bot littill of stature
 Thay call me catyve createure;
 And be I grit of quantetie
 Thay call me monstrowis of nature;
 Thus can I not vndemit be.¹⁴

⁸ M 17. With equal spontaneity, if not so much appropriateness, the nightingale carols of England's "nobull kyng" (13). The praise of the king's loyal supporters, however, is entrusted to characters not personally concerned,—to a woman of Cheapside, who embroiders their initials into a vestment, and to the poet who acts as expositor (14); the lament over the dead Edward IV. is uttered by "ladyes that were clothed in blake" (20).

⁹ M 16, 23.

¹⁰ M 8.

¹¹ M 5, 4, 19. In 7, Crowley's *Of Abbayes*, the poet feigns, at least, a personal interest in the matter of the suppression of abbeyes.

¹² M 24.

¹³ M 18.

¹⁴ M 21.

When the poet would instruct his hearers concerning the varied usefulness of a buck's body, he presents the desired information in the form of a testament made by Will Buck himself:

I bequeth my bodye vnto the colde seller,
And the fair lady to take þe sey of me,
I bequethe my skynne vnto þe bowberer,
to rewarde *your* houndes my throtte also, *perdee*; ¹⁵

when he would enliven them, he tells a strange or merry story in which he plays a more or less prominent part.¹⁶ Altogether, in spite of his late day, he has done much to bring the *chanson d'aventure* again into its own.

For guidance he has looked to adventure-songs of his own land, rather than to those of France. Occasionally he can be detected in the act of adapting love-poetry to his own ends, as when he turns the well-known "By a bancke as I lay" to the praise of England's "nobull kyng,"¹⁷ or when he builds up a satiric debate for which some dialogue between disconsolate lover and consoling bird has probably furnished the groundwork.¹⁸ In its manner the White Rose song is suggestive of the carols, both amorous and religious, that belong particularly to fifteenth century England.¹⁹ More often the poet seems to be composing independently in the tradition of the *chanson d'aventure*;²⁰ and sometimes he

¹⁵ M 6.

¹⁶ M 2, 3, 10. In 15, however, he chooses a figurehead, a clerk, to tell a tale in which he himself is not actively concerned.

¹⁷ A 7, M 13.

¹⁸ M 18.

¹⁹ M 17. Cf. also the burden, belonging to amorous song, "This day day dawes."

²⁰ M 23 is plainly the work of some sympathizer with the divorced Catharine, who is familiar with the *chanson d'aventure* formula, and elaborates it to suit his own ends. M 16, making use of the same general form, the same symbolism in part, and the same refrain line

chooses to grace his ballad or hunting song with a line that takes us back to the days of the early forest-woocers:

As I came by a grene forest syde,
I met with a forster yat badde me abyde.²¹

From this review of the themes, as from the review of the conventional form in the preceding chapter, we may conclude that the authors of the Middle English *chansons d'aventure* have made the tradition established by the Old French *trouvères* quite their own. Even the earliest of the poets—who are acquainted directly with the French convention, though no one of them is known to have translated or imitated any particular French text—manifest independence in their treatment of the themes. With them, the amorous episodes are distinguished by calm restraint and gravity; one lover contents himself with watching the sunlit hair of the beloved maiden, and another quietly accepts the decision of the woman who will not “synke in to synne.” Moreover, as a substitute for love-making, these fourteenth century poets offer devout and penitential prayer or heavy moralizing. The later poets-errant deviate further from a precedent already remote from them by several centuries, and doubtless known to most of them only indirectly. They devote themselves almost exclusively in the fifteenth century to *chansons d'aventure* of the soul and of the conscience, and they draw their material from sources as alien to the original French adventure-songs as Mary-laments, dull moral

(with necessary variation), is obviously written in answer to M 23 by some sympathizer with Anne after her death. (The relation between the two poems has not been noted by the editors.)

²¹ M 3. Cf. a confused Elizabethan song prefaced by a few lines in the manner of the *chansons d'aventure*, ed. Fehr, Herrig's *Archiv*, OVII. p. 59 (cf. *ibid.*, CXIX. p. 428, no. 106 a).

treatises, and sacred lullaby-carols. Sixteenth century poets, it is true, revert to amorous themes, which they treat in lighter mood than do their earliest English predecessors; but their vivacity is always that of tavern-balladist, keen satirist of Dunbar's type, or Tudor court musician,—never the vivacity of the *trouvère*. Their songs, however sprightly, want the finish, just as the earlier English lyrics, for all their admirable stability, lack the grace of the French adventure-song.

CONCLUSION

The discussion in the foregoing chapters has been based upon an examination of all the known *chansons d'aventure* composed in England and Scotland between 1300 or earlier and 1550. In concluding it may be well to sum up briefly the more important results disclosed by this survey of the English adventure-song as a type and particularly those gained by comparing this English type with the French *chansons* in which it had its origin.

In the first place, the reappearance of the essential formal features of the French lyrics, even as late as the sixteenth century, and even among moral and religious and political songs, establishes the fact that the Middle English poets followed consistently in the way marked out by the *trouvères*. But the variance in tone between the English and French poems is sufficient to indicate considerable independence of spirit among the earliest poets, and a lack of any immediate knowledge, among the later poets, of the French songs the formulas of which they were constantly repeating. The freshness of the earliest lyrics, which are free from conventional praises of returning Spring and yet suggestive of sun-flecked forest-ways, their objectivity, and their serious, even sober, mood, come as a relief after the artificiality and self-consciousness of the adventure-songs of the *trouvère*. The devoutness of the lover who exclaims,

he myhte sayen þat crist hym seþe
þat myhte nyhtes neh hyre leþe
heuene he heuede here,¹

distinguishes him from the French *chevaliers*, as the thoughtfulness and spirituality of the writers of religious adventure-

¹ A 30.

songs differentiate them from Gautier de Coincy; furthermore, the comparative frequency of the religious lyrics among the earliest English *chansons d'aventure* stands in significant contrast to the scantiness of similar French songs. These variations in content are evident at a period when the French influence on the form was still direct and active. The case is different with the fifteenth and sixteenth century poems; the dull lessons in dogma, morality, or prudence, the winsome religious carols, the crude but virile secular songs, and the tripping Tudor ditties are all alike examples of a thoroughly Anglicized mode,²—a mode which its own followers doubtless scarcely recognized as a legacy from over-sea.

A second point that has received emphasis is the utter conventionality of the narrative preface, in which the author introduces himself as adventurer. This is a point which has long been recognized, but upon which it is well to insist, inasmuch as it may serve as a restraining influence on certain types of criticism. It should discourage any tendency to base arguments of common authorship on the appearance of the narrative introduction and the adventure element in two or more poems;³ it should also dissuade us from emphasizing "das persönliche Erlebnis" and "das individuelle Moment" in lyrics such as those of Harleian ms. 2253,⁴ except

² A 26 and R 12, fifteenth century translations from the French, are exceptions. If the lyrics in Tudor song-books stand somewhat nearer in tone to the Old French prototypes than do the contemporary songs, or the earliest English lyrics of the same type, it is because the Tudor composers, among whom "'derne love' has given place to the light love of a frivolous court" (Chambers, *Med. Lyric*, p. 282), possess a certain kinship with the courtly, care-free *trouvère*, and not because they are consciously harking back to a foreign precedent already in their time several centuries old.

³ Cf. above, Ch. II, note 87, end.

⁴ Cf. A. Müller, *Mittelengl. Geisl. u. Weltl. Lyrik des XIII Jahrh.* (Morsbach's *Studien*, XLIV. 1911), pp. 129, 155, etc., where much emphasis is given to these points with hardly sufficient emphasis on their stereotyped nature.

as purely stereotyped elements. What is of more vital importance, it should render us wary of accepting as actually autobiographical introductory narratives that relate what are ostensibly definite personal experiences. The tendency toward such criticism appears much less frequently in connection with the short songs than in connection with the more elaborate poems—romances or visions—which have presumably been influenced in introduction and general structure by the adventure element of the lyrics; the influence is undeniable in some cases, as, for example, in *Thomas of Erceldoune*:

Als j me wente þis Endres daye
 full faste in mynd makand my mone,
 In a mery mornynge of Maye,
 By huntle bankkes my selfe allone,
 I herde þe jaye, & þe throstyll cokke,
 The Mawys menyde hyr of hir songe;

Alonne in longynge thus als j laye
 Vndyre-nethe a semely tree
 [Saghe] j whare a lady gaye
 [Came ridand] ouer a longe lee.*

In this instance, as also in that of *Piers Plowman*,⁶ we should be restrained by a knowledge of the adventure-lyrics

* *Thomas of Erceldoune*, ed. Murray, E. E. T. S. Orig. Series 61, ll. 25-36, Thornton text. Miss Burnham ("A Study of Thomas of Erceldoune," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XXIII, pp. 383 ff.) comments on the conventionality of the opening lines. It is impossible, in view of the tradition of the adventure-songs, to subscribe fully to her statement that the "season-motif" . . . in connection with the *walk* and the use of the *first person* . . . seems to belong distinctly to visions"; she herself notes the *Armonye of Byrdes* as an exception.

* A. S. Jack ("Autobiographical Elements in *Piers the Plowman*," *Journ. Germ. Philol.* III, pp. 404 ff.) points out that the author uses both wanderings and dreams as a conventional literary device, not to be taken literally.

from attaching too much biographical significance to the opening lines. Above all, in the case of the *Pearl*, we should be led to agree with Professor Schofield⁷ in his refusal to regard the author's dream as an "actual dream which comforted him in his grief."⁸

To þat spot þat I in speche expoun
 I entred, in þat erber grene,
 In Augoste in a hy; seysoun,
 Quen corne is coruen wyth croke; kene.

Fro spot my spyryt þer sprang in space,
 My body on balke þer bod in sweuen.

The conventionality of these lines impresses itself with new force upon the reader who recalls not only "the very numerous dream-poems, vision-poems, debates, and allegories of divers sorts current in the fourteenth century," to which Professor Schofield calls attention, but also the earlier *chansons d'aventure*, in which a poet relates that he rode or walked the ways in Maytime (sometimes even in August), listened in green arbours or woods to the song of a maiden or of a bird, and perchance indulged in slumber—so lightly did his duties press—before the appearance of the heroine of his adventure. A knowledge of the convention of the adventure-lyric enables us, in other words, to recognize the wandering of Thomas by Huntley Banks, the wandering and dreaming of the men who wrote *Piers Plowman* and the *Pearl* and other poems of the same type, as wholly orthodox, almost obligatory, performances, to which it is highly unsafe to attach any special significance.

⁷ "Symbolism, Allegory, and Autobiography in *The Pearl*," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xxiv. pp. 647 ff.

⁸ This interpretation is suggested by Professor Osgood in his edition of *The Pearl* (Belles-Lettres Series, Boston and London, 1906, p. xvii).—The lines of the poem here quoted are from the same edition, ll. 37-40, 61-62.

With the later cultivation of the *chanson d'aventure* the present study is not concerned. Examples composed in the Elizabethan and in subsequent periods reproduce the established types, altering them often enough in spirit, but never in essentials of theme or structure. The gentle Elizabethans repeat the old *pastourelles* and *chansons dramatiques*, transforming them into charming pastoral lyrics in the neo-classic manner: Barnabe Barnes, as we have seen, reclaims for the love-poets the spiritualized *pastourelle*, when he pleads with his own Saint Mary and offers her the firstling of his flock; Breton, quite in the old manner, celebrates the theme of "lovers' meeting":

In the merry moneth of May
In a morne by breake of day,
Foorth I walkèd by the Wood side
Whenas May was in his pride:
There I spied all alone,
Phillida and Coridon.⁹

Chansons d'aventure are legion among the degraded love-songs of broadside ballad days,—for street-minstrels seem, not unlike the *trouvères*, to have been overfond of eaves-dropping,—and are still conspicuous among later songs in ephemeral "Garlands" or more considerable song-collections.

Though the themes are prevailingly amorous, they are not always so. "All after pleasures as I rid one day," as the poet Herbert tells, he stopped, wearied out, at an inn, and there found his "dearest Lord."¹⁰ Less inspired poets stimulate interest, by means of the popular preface, in their paltry matter,—the lame confession of a wight "dampned by god's iust iudgment" or of one John Musgrave, who paid the extreme penalty at Kendal for robbing the King's Receiver:

⁹ Nicholas Breton, *Works in Verse and Prose*, ed. Grosart, Chertsey Worthies' Library, I. (*Daffodils and Primroses*, p. 7).

¹⁰ George Herbert, *English Works*, ed. G. H. Palmer, II. p. 167.

Downe Plumton Parke as I did passe
 I hard a Bird sing in a glend:
 The cheefest of her song it was—
 'Farewell, the flower of serving men.'¹¹

Examples might be multiplied, but only to illustrate the vast popularity, and not any new development, of the type. It is of interest, however, to note that modern lovers of old song are not wearied of repeating the convention. They still tell, in time-honoured phrases, of spring-time adventures:

As I went up a woodland walk
 In Taunton Dene,
 When May was green—
 I heard a bird so blithely talk
 The twinkling sprays between,
 That I stood still
 With right good will,
 To learn what he might mean.¹²

The songster is of the English greenwood, and he sings an English strain, stilling the poet's grief with a message of hope; yet one listening to his song recalls the *chanson d'aventure* of the early *trouvère*:

c'est en mai au mois d'este
 que florist flor

 li rosignox m'i semont
 que j'aime loiaument,¹³

and, recalling it, avers, "The note, I trowe, y-maked was in Fraunce."

¹¹ *The Shirburn Ballads*, ed. A. Clark, Oxford, 1907, pp. 260, 20.

¹² *The Blackbird: A Spring Song*, Alfred Perceval Graves, *The Spectator*, LXIV. p. 727.

¹³ Bartsch, I. 52.

APPENDIX A

TEXTS HITHERTO UNPRINTED

[Punctuation, uniform capitalization of line initials, and strophe-division in certain texts, are the editor's. Capitalization of letters within the line has been consistently disregarded. In some texts, especially those from MS. Rawl. C. 86, flourishes and other signs, chiefly over final *n*, have been disregarded when they appear to be without consistent abbreviatory significance. Further deviations from MS. readings are indicated in the footnotes.]

I (A 17)

MS. ASHMOLE 176, f. 100 b.

This nyghtes rest, this nyghtes rest,
Adewe, farewell, this nightes rest!

In a garden vnderneath a tree,
To gether þe¹ floures þat grewe therby,
Walking alone, I dyd espye

5 A man in paynes that was prest,
And sorowfully thus could he crye,
 "Adewe, farewell, this nyghtes rest!"

I marvayled what this man dyd meane;
His teares ran downe all from his eyen,²
That he had lost his colour cleane.

¹ MS. *y*⁴; *y* stands for *þ* throughout the poem in the MS.

² MS. *eyes*.

10 A carefull crye then vp he cast,
 " That I might see that I haue seene!
 Adewe, farewell, this nyghtes rest!"

 I asked hym questyon, why þat he
 Lay there all pytyouslye.
 15 He said, " Goe hence *and* let me lye!
 My dolour cannot be redrest,
 For above all other yet cause haue I
 To say, ' Farewell, this nyghtes rest!'

 " For gone away ys all my gladnes
 20 *And* come nowe ys my heavynes;
 Thus I *am* lefte alone helpelesse
 And must forbear þat I love best.
 With no man can I trowe redresse;
 Wherfore adewe, this nyghtes rest!

25 " And yet farewell, þat creature
 þat hathe my hart wofull in cure,
 For whom I must so endure!
 Yet her to please I would be prest;
 She hathe reclaymed me to her lure
 30 To say, ' Farewell, this nyghtes rest!'

 " Thus am I left alone
 And governour here haue I none,
 Nor wot to whom to make my mone,
 For there ys none þat I dare trust.
 35 I can no more but ever one:
 Adewe, farewell, this nyghtes rest!"

finis

II (R2)

III (R 7)

Ms. HARL. 2330, f. 120.

(On the third of three fly-leaves at the end of a volume of prose treatises.)

Lay lay lulay lay, my dere moder, lullay.

As I me went þis enderday
 Al-one on my longyng,
 Me thowth I say a wel fayre may
 A louely child rockyng.

lull[ay]

5 þe mayd went with-owt song
 Hir child on slepe to bring;
 þe child thowth che ded hym wrong
 And bad his moder syng.

lull[ay]

10 "Syng now, moder!" sayd þe child,
 "What schal me beffalle
 Aftur wen I come til eld,
 ffor so done moders all.

lull[ay]

15 "ffor euery moder sekerly
 þat con hir cradul kepe
 Ys wond to lullon louely,
 And bryngs hir child a slepe.

lulay

"Swete moder," sayd þe child,
 "Sythen þat ys so,
 I pray þow þat þe wold me roke,
 20 And syng sum-wat þerto."¹

lullay

¹ The carol is presumably incomplete. Sufficient space is left at the foot of the page for at least one strophe; this part of the page is badly rubbed, as if a few more lines, including another *lull* in the margin, have been erased.

IV (R 18) *Version A*

Ms. RAWL. C. 86, f. 72 b.

[Without title in this ms.]

In a chirche as I gan knele
 This enders daye to here a masse,
 I sawe a sight me liked wele;
 I shall yow tell what it was.
 5 I sawe a pite in a place,
 Owre lady and her sonne in feere;
 Ofte she wepte and sayde, "Alas!
 Now lith here dede my dere sonne dere!"

Yt seide cure lady meke and mylde
 10 To all women in þis kyns wyse:
 "Make no dole for yowre chylde
 A faire deth yf he diese;
 ffor yf ye do ye ben vnwyse
 To se my sonne as he lyth here.
 15 Now is he dede, lo, where he lieth!
 ffor þy sonne dyde, my dere sonne dere.

"All mankynde be-holde and se! [f. 73]

With a crowne of þornes with grete envie
 20 The Iewis putte my sonnys hede vpon,
 The perisid his hert with a spere so long,
 The blode as ye may se and here.
 Allas," she seide, "My lyfe lastith to long.
 Why ne had I dyde with my dere sonne dere?"

25 "All mankynde þat euer was borne
 That haue children, be-holde *and* se
 How my chylde lith me beforne
 Vppon my lappe take doun of þe tre.
 Ye daunce your chyldren vppon your knee
 30 With clippyng and kyssyng *and* mery chere;

IV (R 18) *Version B*

Ms. ASHMOLE 61, f. 106.

Lamentacion beate marie.

In a chyrch as I gan knelle
 Thys endres dey fore to here messe,
 I saw a syght me lykyd welle;
 I schall þou tell how þat it was.
 5 I saw a pyte in a place,
 Oure lady *and* hyre sonne in fere;
 Wele oft sche syjed *and* seyde, "Alas!
 ffore now lyes dede my dere son dere!"

Than seyde oure lady, boþe meke *and* myld,
 10 To all women, "Be-hold *and* se,
 And make þe no mone fore þour chyld
 Of godes sond if it dede be;
 ffore if þe do þe be not wyse
 To se my sone as he lyȝet here.
 15 Now he is dede; lo, *wer* he lyes!
 ffore þi sone dyȝd, my dere son dere.

[f. 106 b]

"All man-kynd, be-hold *and* se!
 My sone is nayled throught fote *and* hond.
 With scharpe thornys *and* grete enye;
 20 Iues put vp hys hede with poyntes strong,
 Hys herte was persyd with a spere so long
 The blod busschyd out, as þe may se here."
 Sche seyde, "Alas! I lyfe to long,
 Why ne had I dyȝed with my dere son dere?"

25 "All women þat euer be bore
 And haue bore chylder, be-hold *and* se
 How my son lyes me be-fore
 On my skyrte take fro þe rode tre.
 When þe danse þour chylder on þour kne
 30 þe clyppe *and* kyse with mery chere;

Be-holde my sonne *and* beholde me! [Version A]
ffor þy sonne dyede, my dere sonne dere.

"Woman, woman, wel is þe!

Thy chyldes cappe þou settist vpon,
35 Thow pykest his hede *and* beholdest his ble,
Thow wottist not wele whanne þou hast don;
But euer, alas, I make mon
To se my sonne as he lieth here;
Oute of his I pyke þornes many oon,
40 ffor þy sonne dide, my dere sonne dere.

"Woman, a chaplet chosyn þou hast,

Thy chylde doth it were to þy plesyng,
Thow pynnest it *and* gret ioie makest,
And I sit by my sonne sore sighing.
45 My chylde hath a chapplet of þornes prykyng, [f. 73 b]
I clippe hym, I kisse hym, with carfull chere;
Thow sittist lawghing, and I wepyng,
ffor þy sonne dide, my dere sonne dere.

"Woman, whanne þou liste to play,

50 Thow hast þy childe on þy kne daunsyng,
Thow handilist his fete; fetys arn þey,
And vnto þy sight wele likyng.
The lengest fynger vpon my hande
Thorough my sonnys fete I maye þrest here;
55 I take hem oute bloody, sore wepyng:
ffor þy sonne dyde, my dere sonne dere.

"Woman, loke to me ageyne!

Youre chyldren play with youre pappis;
To me þenketh it a grete payne
60 In my sonnys brest to se so gret gappys,
And ouer his bake so many swappys.
With bloody lippis I kys hym here.
Wel hard," she seid, "ben myn happys!
Why ne had I died with my dere sonne dere?

Be-hold my sone *and* be-hold me! [Version B]
 ffore thy son dyed, my dere son dere.

“O woman, now wele is the!
 Thy chyldes cape þou doyst vpon,
 35 Thou pykes hys erys *and* be-hold hys ble,
 Thow wote not wele when þou hast don;
 Bot euer, alas, I make my mone
 To se my sone as he lyst here;
 Oute of hys hede I pyke many a thorn,
 40 ffore þi son dyed, my dere son dere.

“Woman, a chaplyte ichos þou haste,
 Thy chyld to were to thy lykyng,
 Thou pynnyst hyre, grete ioi thou makyst;
 And I sytte here full sore wepyng.
 45 My sone hath a chaplyte of thornes prekyng,
 I clype hym *and* kys with carefull chere;
 Thou syttes syngyng, *and* I wepyng,
 ffore þi son dyed, my dere son dere.

“Woman, when þou lyst to pley,
 50 Tho hast þi chyld on þi kne dansyng,
 Thou be-holdes hys fase *and* hys aray
 Vnto þi eye full wele lykyng.
 The longyst fynger of my hond beyng
 Throuȝt my sonys fete I may thyrst it here,
 55 And take it oute, full sore wepyng;
 ffore þi son dyed, my dere sone dere.

“Woman, loke on me aȝene!
 Thy chyld lyes sowkyng on þi pappys;
 There of me thynke it is grete harme
 60 In my sonys brest to se grete gappys,
 And onne hys hede *and* body so many slapys. [f. 107]
 With bloddy lypys I kys hym here.
 full herd,” sche seyde, “now be myn happys!
 Why ne had I dyed with my dere sone dere?

65 "Woman þy chylde is hole and sounde, [Version A]
 And myn lith dede vpon my kne;
 Thy chylde is lowse, myn lith bounde;
 Thy chylde hath lyffe, and dede is he:
 And all is for þe love of þe,
 70 ffor my chylde trespass neuer here.
 Women, why nyl ye wepe with me?
 ffor þy sonne dyde, my dere sonne dere.

"Wepe with me, boþe man and wyffe! [f. 74]
 My chylde is yours, and lovidde yow well.
 75 Yf þy childe were deed and no lyffe
 Thow coudist wel wepe at euery mele.
 But for my chylde þou weptist neuer a dele;
 Though þou loste þyn, myn hath no pere.
 Thynke þat my chylde sende þyn boþe hap *and* hele!
 80 ffor þy sonne dyed, my dere sonne dere.

"Women þat haue your wittes within
 And seest my chylde vpon my kne dede,
 Wepe not for þyne, but for myne,
 And þou shalt haue full mekel mede.
 85 Yt wolde my chylde a-geyn for yow blede
 Rather þan ye dampned were.
 Vnto þis mater take good hede!
 ffor þy sonne dyede, my dere sonne dere.

"ffare-wele women! I may no more
 90 Reherce your chyldren *and* your goodnesse;
 I haue wepte for myn so sore
 That I haue for-goten boþe ioie *and* blisse.
 I praye yow all thynke on þis,—
 My chylde hath euer be kynde to yow here;
 95 Thynke on his passion, *and* he graunteth yow blis;
 ffor þy sonne dyede, my dere sonne dere!"

ffinis

65 "Woman, thy chyld is hole *and* sownd, [Version B]
 And myn lyeht dede vpon my kne;
 Thyn is lowse and myn is bownd,
 And thyn hath lyfe, *and* dede is he:
 And all is fore þe luffe of the,
 70 ffore my sone trespassyd neuer here.
 Woman, com and wepe with me!
 ffore thy sone dyjed, my dere son dere.

"Wepe with me, both man *and* wyffe!
 My sone is *your*, and lufys þou wele.
 75 And thyn wer dede *and* hade no lyfe,
 Thou cowth well wepe at euery mele.
 ffore my son þou wepys neuer a dele;
 Thoff þou lufe thyn, myn hath no pere.
 Thynke my son gafe þe lyfe *and* hele!
 80 ffore þi sone dyjed, my dere sone dere.

"Woman, now þou canste þi wyte;
 Thou seyst þi chyld wheper it be seke *ore* ded.
 Wepe þou fore myn, *and* not fore it
 And þou schall haue mych to thy mede.
 85 Thynke my sone wyll a-gayn bled
 Raper than þou dampnyd were;
 To þis matyre þou take gode hede!
 ffore thy son dyjed, my dere son dere.

"ffare-wele, women! I may no more
 90 Rehers þoure chylder *and* þour godnys;
 I haue wepyd fore my son so sore
 That I fore-gete all ioy and blys.
 I praye þou all to thynke on þis,—
 My son is þoure *and* lufys þou wele;
 95 Thynke on hys passyon and hys blys,
 ffore thy son dyjed, my dere sone dere!"
Amen quod Rathe

V (R 24)

Ms. RAWL. C. 86, f. 65.

- Late as I wente on myn pleyng
 I set my herte all in solase;
 Criste on a crosse I sawe hangyng,
 That dyede for man with-oute trespas.
 5 To man he cried and sayde, "Alas!
 Why art þou, man, vnkynde to me?
 And now I dye to geve þe grace.
Quid ultra debui facere?"
- Criste Ihesu þies wordes may saye
 10 To euery creature þat is vnkynde:
 "What shulde I more, man, I þe praye,
 Haue do for þe þat is be-hynde?
 Thou art þe fayrest criature in kynde,
 ffor I þe made on lyke to me,
 15 And gave þe reason with witte and mynde;
Quid ultra debui facere?
- "I love þe, man, aboue all þyng.
 Therfor for þe I wolde be bore,
 And all for I wolde þe to blisse bryng;
 20 What shulde I þanne for þe do more?
 ffor Adam synne þou were forlore
 And lyke for euer perisshid to be,
 Yt I woll to blisse þe restore.
Quid ultra debui facere?
- 25 "I muste love þe, I maye none oþer;
 Therfor love me agayne,
 Or ellys þou art an vnkynde broþer.
 My love to haue þou shuldest be fayn.
 In nede I þe helpe with myght and mayn,
 30 And now on þe crosse I dye for the, [f. 65 b]
 And suffir þornes to perich my brayn;
Quid ultra debui facere?

35 " My hondes for þe on þe crosse ben spredde
 To shew þe mercy yf þou wilt craue;
 Me to offende þou shuldest be adrad,
 ffor yf þou do wel I wol þe saue.
 Whan þou art dede and lefte in grave
 [And all thy frendes from the flee,]¹
 Yt þy sowle I seke to save;
 40 *Quid ultra debui facere?*

45 " Whan I made þe to my lykenesse
 I made þe lorde above all þynge,
 And gave to þe all plentousnesse
 Of fisshes þat arn in þe see swymmyng,
 And ouer all bestes þat are crepyng
 On erthe I made þe lorde to be,
 And ouer all fowles in þe eyre fleynge:
Quid ultra debui facere?

50 " I made þe sonne with sterres of heven,
 The mone also with bryght shynyng,
 And sette þe sterres with planetis vije,—
 All þis I did for þy plesyng;²
 And of þe erth I made to spryng
 Erbis and treis in þer degre,
 55 Her frute to bere to þy norishyng:
Quid ultra debui facere?

60 " Ther myght neuer creature on me pleyne
 And seye þat I was vnkynde,
 ffor to helpe þe I haue ben fayne;
 But yt on þis þou hast no mynde. [f. 66]
 To save man yt was devyned
 That I shulde dye vpon a tre;
 Wherfor for þe I was pyned.
Quid ultra debui facere?

¹ L. 38 supplied from the fragmentary printed version in Douce *Fragm.* f. 48 (c. 1550); cf. R 24 in Appendix B.

² Ms. *pleasaunce*.

65 "Grete love I shewid whanne I þe made
 Of erth a creature most excellent,
 Yf kyndnesse þanne in þe þou hadde
 Thow shuldest love me with good entent.
 Man, thy soule I made represent
 70 To þe lykenesse of þe trinite.
 ffor þou shuldest love as I ment:^a
Quid ultra debui facere?

"Though þou haue synned, yt come to me
 And aske mercy with mekenesse,
 75 ffor mercy to geve I am redy;
 Thus shewith experience by expresse;
 ffor I shewid neuer yt no crvelnesse
 To synfull man þat askyth mercy;
 Yt euer þou shewist vnkyndnesse.
 80 *Quid ultra debui facere?*

"I gave þe reason and eyen clere
 To teche þe flee from all evyll,
 And also crys þou hast to here,
 And in þy sovele I sette fre vill;
 85 And now I hange on caluery hill
 Naylid on crosse with naylys thre,
 To save þe, man; þou shuldest not spill.
Quid ultra debui facere?

"Whanne man had synned to hym I sende [f. 66 b]
 90 Patriarkes, profettes, and postels also,
 Trwe prechours to teche him to amende,
 That mys had don to twynne me fro;
 And to save from endles woo
 I ordeyned of penaunce partys thre;
 95 Why hatist þou me, man, why art þou me foo?
Quid ultra debui facere?

^a Ms. went

- "Rather þan thou dampned shulde be,
 I from hewen agayn wolde discende
 And grevouser deth yt to suffir for þe.
 100 Why wrathis þou me? I nouȝte offende.
 All þat þe nedeth to þe I sende.
 And now on þe crosse, as þou maiste se,
 My body is scourged and all to-rente:
Quid ultra debui facere?
- 105 "I haue not trespasid; why art þou me foo?
 Why wratthis þou me, þat am þy frende?
 Thow hast no cause to fle me fro;
 I covet to kepe þe from þe fende.
 Loo! euer to þe I am hende;
 110 Yf þou aske mercy with humylite
 I wyll for[geve] þe at þynne ende.
Quid ultra debui facere?"
ffinis

VI (D 2 a)

Ms. PORKINGTON 10, f. 155 b.

- As I cam by a forrest syde
 This endyrs day in one mornynge,
 I buskyd me for to abyde
 ffor I hard a lyttyll bryde synge;
 5 A lessoun hit was for to mynge
 Nedefull for euyrery man to lere;
 This wer þe nottys þat schwe cothe synge:
 "Do for þi selfe wyle þat þou art here!
- "Do for þi selfe whyle þat þou may,¹
 10 And kepe þi sowle owte of drede;
 Whan þou arte dede and layd in clay
 Thy fryndys of þe wyll take non heyd,

¹ Ms. *hert* before *may*, dotted for expunction.

- They wyll say þou haddyst no nyde
 Of mese ne mattayns ne othere praere;
 15 Thus wyll þi say, soo god me spede;
 Do for þi selfe whyll þou arte here!
- "This wyll thyne exseycuturis saye, [f. 156]
 Cry and calle as they where woode;
 Thav; þou haddyst neuer soo myche yeusterday,
 20 To-day þi sayd þou haddyst noo good;
 Hit fars be þe as ebb² and fiod;
 When yche bruke ys a hy rewere
 Hyt stynttyt a-gayne as hit stode.
 Do for þi selfe whyll þat þou art here!
- 25 "This ys trwe, as I yowe tell,
 When ych one mete wtt nodyre
 They have þy corne and þy cattayll,
 Thy treyssure, thaje hit were assure;
 Thaj þou were his owne brodyre,
 30 In heywyn or heyle wheþur þou where;
 But here gettys þou no nodyre.
 Do for þy selfe whyle þou art here!
- "Do for þi selfe and þou be wyse!
 Hyt wyll þe awaylle by monye a waye.
 35 Woon penny be þi lyfe [þat] ys
 Is worthe iij by hond aftur þi day; [f. 156 b]
 This havfe I hard olde clerics saye.
 I do þe dredles owtte of were
 Thow wot not when to wend awaye:
 40 Do for þi selfe wyll þat þou arte here!
- "Exsecurutrys þou wolte noñ have,
 Thow holdys þi wyfe good and trwe;
 But securely when þou art gooñ
 full son aftur schwe woll not rewe,

² Ms. ebeb, second e dotted for expunction.

45 But soñ aftur schw wyll have a newe;
Thow arte awaye, a-nodyr ys nere.
Thow wottust not when to reymeyfe;
Do for þi selfe whyl þou art here!

“When þou art in þi grawe layd
50 And þi wyfe stondys by þe,
Soñ schwe sounyt in a brayde
And fayn, says schow, berryid wold be,
‘Alase, my hert wyle breke in þre!’
Thus³ makys schw a rwthefull chere;⁴
55 But lyttyll nowe schow dothe for þe.
Do for þi selfe whyle þou art here!

[f. 157]

“Then schow reymewyjt whom agayn
Wryngyng here hondys as schw wer woode,
But in þe mornyng schw ys full fayn
60 When schow þynkyt oñ þe good,
And þaũkyt god þat daylþe ȝevd,⁵
‘Now he wyle no more come here,
Where to schwld I geyf of his good?
He wyld geyfe noñ whyle he was here.’

65 “Cryst þat was in beydleyrn bor[ā]
Of a maydyñ fayre and fre,
And werryd þe crovñ keñ of thorñe
And seythe dyid vppon a tre,
And bojt bothe yow and me
70 W[t]t his blod þat was soo dere,
He ȝeyfe vs grace or þat we dye:
Do for ȝowre selfe whyle we byn here.”

Be thy lyfe day⁶, *Amen Dico tibi!*

³Ms. *This*.

⁴Ms. *araye* with *chere* above it, in the same hand.

⁵The text is here apparently corrupt.

VII (D 3)

Ms. HARL. 1704, f. 31.

In thy most helth¹ wisely be-ware.

As I fared in a frith
 In somer to hure fowlis syng,
 I waxe wery and slepid there-with.
 To me was sent a swete thing:

- 5 A lady me brought a fayre gold ring, [f. 31 b]
 A blisfull worde there-in it bare;
 It was this withoute lesyng,
 "In thy most welth wysely be-ware!"

- 10 It was pight with pereles a-boute,
 With saphures and rubies set on the syde,
 Dyamaundis a riall route,
 Pelled *and* powderd with crapawdis white;
 Balis bright aboute gan bide,
 The clere cristall be-gan to clare,
 15 The lightnesse began to glide:
 "In thy most welth wisely be-ware!"

- "To thyn a-boue though þou be brought,
 I rede be-ware of balis blast;
 For thenke this worldis wele is nought;
 20 Now is mirth and now tempest.
 Thy ioye here it may not last,
 For as a fayre this world doth fare;
 For ony lordship that thou hast,
 In thy most welth wisely be-ware!"

- 25 "Haue none envy, be my rede;
 Let not thy tunge haue all the will.

¹ Read *welth*?

þou woost not what hangeth ouer thyn hed,
 Ne what god will send the till;
 Thou ne woost how sone god will
 30 'The spill but if thou spare;
 In hell þou shalt be hampred ill,
 But thou in thy most welth wisely be-ware.

"ffor nothyng be not bold
 Thyn euencristen for to greue;
 35 þen will thy maistership faynt and fold,
 Thy dedis will turne the to repreue.
 þenke on Adam and on Eve,
 In her lordship how they were bare;
 ffor a lord was a reue,—
 40 ffor they ne coude in welth be-ware.*

[f. 32]

"Be not so bold in no manere wise
 To do thy neighbore ony maner dispite,
 ffor thou maist fall and he may rise;
 All this lieth in goddis myght.
 45 Saye no ill be none wight,
 Thou art not sekyr hou þou shalt fare;
 Loke þou reue no man his right,
 But in þi most welth wisely be-ware.

"Here thou maist se euery day
 50 Lordes *and* maisters of gret honoure;
 Hyr goodis faileth and falleth a-waye,
 Both castell, town, and toure,
 Gold *and* riches, hall and boure;
 ffro all þis richesse do they fare,
 55 Pride hem shendith with sharp shoure
 That in most welth will not be-ware.

"Sum *with* rooberye lese there good,
 Sum pletyng with fals entent,

* Ms. be bare.

60 Sum bledying her hert blood,
 Sum her places be all to-brent,
 With meselrie sum be shent,
 Blynd and lame also sum arre;
 þes mischefes to hem be lent
 þat in her welth woll not be-ware.

65 "But whanne thi riche rentes gret
 Is lost *and* fro the taken,
 þere wil noman bid the to mete;
 Thi bolde bost begynneth to slaken.
 Men that the mirthsum dede make
 70 To speke with the then will þey spare.
 Euery body for thy sake
 In here most helth^a wisely be-ware.

[f. 32 b]

"But whanne thy chaule hangeth a-downe,
 Thy gresly gost goth his gate,
 75 Where is then thy rich renown?
 þan art thou a man al for-mate.
 Be thou neuer so gret of state,
 þrough one check all may missefare.
 Euery man for thy sake
 80 In there most welth wisely be-ware."

This worde was graue in a ringe
 ffull perfityly all a-boute,
 "In welth be-ware; for ony thing
 To the erth thou shalt lowte.
 85 Though thou be richest þat is oute,
 There commeth a check and makyth the bare;
 ffor goddes loue be not to proude,
 But in youre most welth wisely be-ware!"

Amen

^a Read *welth*?

VIII (D 21)

Ms. RAWL. POET. 36, f. 2.

In a chambre as I stode
 There lordys were and barenis¹ bold,
 I saw a knyght were an hode
 Was write with lettres al of gold;
 5 That word I be-gan faste to be-holde
 Weper it were ynglysch or what langage;
 It was the word that I of tolde,
 That seruice is non eritage.

That word I gan faste devise
 10 And thoght it was sothly sayde,
 For I haue sen men in seruise
 Lyke lordys gon a-rayd;
 And sythen with a lytyl brayde
 Ther lordys han deye for age,
 15 þan waxe the pouerayle dysmayde;
 For seruice is noon eritage.

Somme man wole not hys neyghbour knowe
 Whan he is put in hys seruice,
 Whan he is out and is ful lowe
 20 Than wole hys neybourne hym dyspice,
 Than must he priuily hym dysgyse
 And a-bate hys hys corage;
 For-thy thynk on this yf þou be wyse,
 þat seruice is noon eritage.

Truste þe not to mych to þy seruice, I rede,
 25 Lenger þan þou may weel treuayle;
 For whan þou may nat stonde in stede
 Ne noght may thy master a-vayle;

¹ Or *barrens*.

30 þan he wole wyth-outen fayle
Wax wery of the and wyth-draw þy wage.
For-þy, yong men, I you counsayle,
Thynke þat seruice is noon eritage!

35 What is a prouder thyng or a worse
Than a knave with-outen drede,
Whan he is vp vpon hys master's horse?
To herkyn þis shalbe thy mede:
He shal a-lighten a-yen, so god me spede,
A-gayn to be put a page;
þerfore lestenyth and take good hede,
40 þat seruice is noon eritage.

Wele is hym that can a crafte! [f. 2 b]
And he wolle se it more or lasse;
For yf hys seruice be hym rafte,
He may leue in clennesses,
45 He may leue with-oute dystresse.
Connyng is syker stage,
And seruice is no sykynesne;
Thynke it is noon eritage!

50 I holde hym a fole, so haue I blysse,
That for hys seruice berith hym to hye,
And namely in the world þat now is
That turneth alday wondyrlye;
ffor I can ylke day wele aspye
Of gret gentelye yemen and page
55 Lesyth þer seruice wondyr-lye
ffor seruice is noon eritage.

IX (D 33)

Ms. TRIN. COLL. CAMBR. O. 9. 38 (JAMES's No. 1450).

[f. 26 b]

Hyre *and se* and say not all!¹

Throwe a towne as y com ryde,
 Y sawe wretyn on a wall
 A leffe of letterys long and wyde:
 "Hyre, and se, and sey not all!"
 5 And yff thou wolte thys lesson lere
 And covetyste to dwell yn compeny,
 What thou seyyste farre or nere,
 Looke it towche to no velany;
 But be thou evere curteyse and hende,
 10 Both yn chambere and yn hall;
 What-so-ever thou knowyste by foo or frend,
 Hyre, and se, and sey not all!

ffor there ys nothere kyng nore knygh,
 Hy nothere lowe, yn noo degre,
 15 That doyth or seyth by day or nygh,
 That euer may hys worschypp be;
 But som of them woll haue here wyll,
 What happe there-of may be-fall.
 All that ys yll, let it be styll;
 20 And hyre, and se, and sey not all!

And yff thou be curteyse and free,
 Moche worschypp may thou haue;
 ffor ofte tymys a man may se
 A knygh ys made of a knawe.
 25 And yff thou wolte a-bowte the caste,
 Lesyng ys as men don a ball;
 The were well better at the laste
 To hyre, and se, and sey not all.

¹ Title in a later hand.

- Certyn thys ys a wonder~~e~~ thyng!
 30 Be a tale never~~e~~ so fals,
 Meny men haue grete lekyng
 To tell it forth, and eche it als;
 And be it tolde ons or twyse,
 Hyt woll be long or it downe fall.
 35 There-for y rede be ware and wyse,
 And hyre, and se, and sey not all!

- Who so woll euere talys tell
 And take no hede what he seyth,
 He is worse than þe devell of hell,
 40 That never~~e~~ ys yn reste nothere yn peese;
 ffor he beryth venom yn hys tayle
 That ys more bytter then the gall;
 And there-for do aftere my consayle:
 Hyre, and se, and sey not all!

- 45 And yff thow wolte a jangler~~e~~ be
 And sey well more then thow wete,
 With that man thow myght not be,
 Nore neythyre com to goode astate;
 And yff thow wyltte holdyn be
 50 Trewe, stedfaste as stone yn wall,
 Y rede yow thynke on thes thre:
 To hyre, and se, and sey not all.

[f. 27]

- And yff thow do, y the saye,
 Mochell worschypp may ye wyn,
 55 Abell to do both nygth and daye,
 Helpe and ferthere all thy kyn;
 And yff thow wolte be trewe of tong,
 Men to conseyle woll the call,
 Whethere thow be oolde or yong:
 60 Hyre, and se, and sey not all!

ffor as men seyen yn here elde,
 As the countrey woll bare recorde,

- Som men for manerys meke *and* mylde
 Haue be made a full grete lorde;
 65 Som to syng with crosse and ryng;
 And som to were pelewre *and* pall.
 There-fore y rede, thynke on thys thyng;
 Hyre, and se, and sey not all!

Explicit

X (D 37)

Ms. COTT. CLEOP. C. IV, f. 69.¹

- Whan that phebys beemes schynnyng as golde
 Gan to ylumyne over every nacyoun,
 My harte dyd reioysse the hevynnes to byholde,
 My dull sprytes receuyd consolacyoun;
 5 Walkyng alone for my recreacyoun,
 A voyse I harde, ryght mervelus obscure,
 Wych sayde, "Harken vnto my protestacyoun:
 Trust not the ontrustye, for hys promysse ys not sure!"
- Hys promysse ys not sure; thys texte schewyth it playne.
 10 Whome schall I acuse ther-of to make probacyoun?
 Thys false flatteryng worlde that sayth we schall remayne
 Contenewally with hym in plesure and delectacyoun,
 And haue welth and prosperyte² as men of reputacyoun,
 Not to be transposed, but styll here to indure.
- 15 Harke thys grevous gloser of dyssymelacyoun!
 Trust not the on-trusty; hys promys ys not sure!
- For he wyll soneste dysceve hym that trustyth hym moste,
 So craftely he bygyleth ayge and all-soo yowth.
 Trust the worde of god geven by the holy goste,
 20 In wych ys containyd all veryte and trewth;

¹ At the top of the page, in place of title, stands the word *Itesu*.

² Ms. *sprosperyte*.

For wyth hevenly grace hys floke he renewyth.
 The worlde sayth, "Thow arte of me; be-leve that I am
 trewer,
 And I wyll not dysceve the, nor non that to me suyth."
 Trust not the ontrusty; hys promysse ys not sure!

- 25 Cryste sayth fyrst, "Seke the kyngdome of heven, [f. 69 b]
 And all thyng nessyssarye schall be gebyn vnto the."
 Than sayth the worlde, "Set all at syxe and seven,
 Folowe thy lust and plesure; thow schalt tary styll with me,
 And I wyll not dysceue the, yf thow with me agree,
 30 For of all ioie and myrth I am the renewer.
 Thow schalt never deperte from thy golde and thy fee."
 Yet trust not the ontrusty; hys promys ys not sure!

- O brykell worlde, full of hygh regalyte!
 O mysyrrable vale, with vayne thow woldest man spyll!
 35 Thow provokest man to folowe sensualyte,
 And makest hym by-leve he schall remayne here styll;
 Thow byddeest hym folowe plesure hys owen mynde to full-
 fyll;
 To folowe the flessch and the fynde thow dust hym sore yllure,
 And sonest wyll dysceve hym when he wolde faynest haue
 hys wyll.³
 40 Trust not the ontrusty, for hys promysse ys not sure!

- To trust vnto hys promysse, yt were a mynde of madnesse;
 He wavers as the wynde and doth both gloyse and fayne.
 Now myrth, now sorowe, now dolour, then gladnesse;
 Now better, now wursse, now plesure, then payne;
 45 Now to want, then to haue, now love, then dysdayne;
 Now ebbe, now flodde, now corrupte, now pure;
 Now hoote, now colde, now drowght, now rayne.
 Trust not the ontrusty, hys promysse ys not sure!

³ Wyll above the line in the MS.

- All men be not in pouertye, nor all be not in welth; [f. 70]
 50 All be not wyld, nor all be not tayne;
 All be not in sykenes, nor all be not in helth;
 All in good reporte, nor all in yvell name;
 All be not dyshonoryde, nor all in worldely fame;
 All be not mery, nor all in ferefull fure;
 55 All be not in earnest, nor all be not in game.
 Trust not the ontrusty, hys promys ys not sure!

- Yf all men were a-lyke rych, then who schuld obay other?
 Yf all men were a-lyke strong, who schuld wyne the fylde?
 Yf all men wer a-lyke pore, then who schuld helpe hys
 brother?
 60 Yf all men were a-lyke wyse, who schulde be reconsylde?
 Yf all men were trewe and trusty, then who schulde be
 begylde?
 And all men of lyke ayge, to byleve it wolde vs procure
 That we schulde lyve and dye all at onsse,—man, woman,
 and chylde,—
 And so trust thys on-trusty worlde, wych ys full onsure.

- 65 Euery man ys not of good dysposyssyouns,
 Nor all men be not geuen to do yll;
 So contrary persons hath dyversse condyssyouns,
 Waveryng as the worlde settes them at ther wyll.
 He that wroght vs hath bowght vs by hys devyne power and
 skyll,
 70 He doth save vs, and wyll haue vs, for we be hys cure;
 He hath promysed and devysed that we schall com hym tyll.
 Trust hym that ys trusty, hys promys ys sure!

- The waye lythe soo streght that foreward must we goo,
 From owur youth travelyng tyll that we be olde; [f. 70 b]
 75 Backe we schall not returne, nother for frynde nor foo.
 Who schall make vs yong agayne for ony sum⁴ of golde?

⁴Ms. *sm*⁴, the common abbreviation for *summa*, here transferred to represent the English equivalent. This explanation was suggested to me by Mr. D. T. B. Wood, of the Department of mss., British Museum.

From day to day owur yeres schall be sone tolde;
 We may perceve and see it ys no dreme nor schewer;
 Thys worlde doth but flater, playnely we may by-holde.

80 Trust not the on-trusty, hys promysse ys not sure!

Ther ys not the myghtyest, the lyghteste, the wyghtest þat
 doth walke,

The maddest, the * saddest, the gladdest of them all,
 The fayntest, the quentest, the dayntyest in ther talke,
 The faytest, the quietest, the greteste ye can call,

85 The fryckest, the quyckest, the tryckest vnyuersall,
 The newest, the trewest, the duest to endure,
 The longest, the strongest, but from hensse deperte schall.
 Truste not the ontrusty, for hys promys ys not sure!

Yf we by-leve cryste, than schall we planely see

90 That hys worde must be trewe that he sayth in hys gossell:

"He that ys of the worlde ys not of me."

Loke that we conclude, as skrypture doth tell,

All worldly plesures from vs to expell;

As god hath comandyd, soo kepe owur hartes invre.

95 Then schall we haue the joye that all joyes doth exsell.

Trust hym that ys trusty, hys promys ys sure!

finis

* Ms. *the the*.

XI (M 11)

Ms. CORPORATION OF TENTERDEN, (OLDEST RECORD BOOK),
f. 14.¹

Be a wildernes
As I did passe
The swet floores for to smell,
I sawe a goodly² lady
5 Mornyd righth pituisly
Seyng, "A-dewe and ffarewelle!
.
.
.³
10 price⁴
. [f]loore thelyse!
. I am exilid
. s no blame
. he the schame
15 Wich hath you this begilid.
Yet all the faut wasse not in me,
Tho you disseuyd be.
Wherefore I besech your grace

¹Ms. described *Hist. MSS. Com. Report* vi, Appendix, pp. 569 f. This poem occurs at the top of the fourteenth of the loose leaves (as they are at present arranged), that precede the volume proper, having once formed a padding to the leather sides of the book; they apparently once were part of the Account Book of a Tailor and Draper for the year 1535-1536 and a few years following.

²Ms. *godly*.

³After l. 6 occur, in the same hand, the following lines, which have been crossed out, apparently by the original writer:

All wordly (*sic*) yoye (*sic*)
Clene is gone a way
And th . . . I rage in woo.

A tear in the ms. has removed part of the last of these three lines, and the first half of the following five.

⁴Part of a letter, probably *f* of *of*, is visible before *price*.

- 20 To haue on me compassion,
 For cowncell wasse the occasioun
 W^eich movid me to this case.
 The lioun of price wyth the floor the lyse!
 Yett and the faut wasse not in me."^a

XII (M 20)

Ms. HARL. 3952, f. 105 b.¹

The lame[n]tacioun] of ladyes for the death of king Edward
 the iiijth

- [In Ma]y whan euery herte is lyghte
 [And f]ayre flourys doth sprede *and* springe
 [I rose me up] byfore the daye bryghte
 [For to heyre th]e birddys syng
 5 [I herd a wofu]ll lamentinge

^aOne loop of this letter is visible.

^aAt the top of f. 14 b, in a different hand, and therefore quite disconnected with the fragment printed above, are the lines which are given in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report* apparently as part of the same poem:

Banesshid am I, <i>and</i> no cause whye,	} farewele	
Thorow thoughte for <i>and</i> disdayne;		all friske
And tho that I therfore shoulde dye,		farewele
Yet can I not refrayne.		<i>and</i> fere

Not refrayne; shoulde dye.

Alas that same swete faze whome dethe cevelle

Hathe strykyn with his mase | *and* takyne awaye fro me!

Compare the religious song (*Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, p. 63; cf. note, p. 253), beginning:

Allace that same sweit face
 That deit vpon ane tre.

¹I am indebted to Professor Carleton Brown for the transcript of this fragment. The left-hand portion of the page has been torn away. The phrases in brackets are supplied from second copies of the first strophe and of l. 22, which have been added below.

[Of ladyes tha]t were clothed in blake
 pt for king Edwardes sake
 alas
 oble kyng
 10 ll destresse
 sor morninge
 handis wringe
 lothis blake
 wardes sake
 15

 morne
 mo . . .
 20 clothes blak
 Edwardes sake
 . . [e ded wer clothe]s of sylke
 hevie
 t mylke
 25
 mems
 clothe blake
 ing edwardes sak
 tyme was king
 30 prosperite

APPENDIX B

ALPHABETICAL REGISTER OF MIDDLE ENGLISH CHANSONS D'AVENTURE

[All known sources, both manuscript and printed, are listed for all the poems included in the register, with the exception of popular ballads and poems by known authors (Lydgate, Dunbar, etc.), in which cases reference is made only to the standard editions.]

A (AMOROUS)

A lone a lone here y am my sylf a lone, etc. (burden prefixed to A 27).¹

- ✓ 1. As I came by a bowre soo fayr.

Ms. Rawl. C. 813, c. 1520-1540. Ed. Padelford, *Anglia*, xxxi. p. 312.

- ✓ 2. As I did walk onys be ane medo side.

Ms. at Wemyss Castle, *sæc.* xv, first half; the poem written on a fly-leaf, not later than c. 1542. Edd. Laing, *Select Remains*, p. 361; Laing, *Early Pop. Poetry*, I. p. 112.

As I gaed out in a May morning. Cf. 29 (version C).

As I passyd by a sartayn place (line 3 of A 13).

3. As I stode in studyenge allone.

The Complaynte a-geyne Hope. Mss. Bodl. 638, f. 200 b; Fairfax 16, f. 195 b; Harl. 7333, f. 135; all *sæc.* xv. Unprinted.—Cf. Hammond, *Chaucer, A Bibliographical Manual*, pp. 177, 334 ff., 416.

- ✓ 4. As I stod on a day me self vnder a tre.

Ms. Arundel 27, College of Arms, *sæc.* xiv, beg. Ed. *Rel. Ant.* II. p. 19.—The ms. is no longer marked "E. D. N. No. 27" (presumably representing "Edward, Duke of Norfolk"), as it is said to be, *Rel. Ant.*, I. c.

¹ Padelford, *Herrig's Archiv*, cxix. p. 427, No. 90, suggests that the lines beginning "Alone, alone," etc., are the burden to No. 91, and not a separate poem, as Fehr considered them to be.

- ✓ 5. As I walked fforth one morninge.
Ballad, *Christopher White*. Ed. Child, *Ballads*, No. 108.
As I went forth to take the air. Cf. 29 (version D).
- ✓ 6. Be chance bot evin this vthir day.
Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Ed. *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 358. Colophon:
"Finis quod ane Inglisman."
- ✓ 7. By a bancke as I lay/musyng my sylfe alone hey how.
Ms. Roy. App. 58, c. 1500-1510. Edd. Chappell, *Old Engl. Pop. Music*,
I. p. 46; Collier, *Extracts from Stationers' Registers*, Shak. Soc.
London, 1848-1849, I. p. 193; Rimbault, *Little Book*, No. 16, p. 53;
Furnivall, *Captain Cox*, p. cxxxi; Flügel, *Anglia*, XII. p. 264; Flügel,
Neuengl. Leseb. p. 139; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 71.
- ✓ 8. By Arthur's Dale as late I went.
Ballad, *Bonny Bee Hom.* Ed. Child, *Ballads*, No. 92 A. Version B
beg., "In Lauderdale I chanc'd to walk."
- ✓ 9. By west off late as I dyd walke.
Ms. Cott. Vesp. A. xxv, *sæc.* xvi, second half. Ed. Ritson, *The Caledonian Muse*, London, 1785, 1821, p. 172; Laing, *Select Remains*, p.
367; Laing, *Early Pop. Poetry*, II. p. 74; Bøddeker, *Jb. f. rom. u.*
engl. Spr. u. Lit. N. F. II. p. 220.
- (C) Olle to me the rysshys grene, etc. (burden prefixed to
A 11).
10. Erle at the day doue.
Minute-book of Burgh Sasines of Aberdeen; recorded (1503-1507)
together with some verses by Dunbar. Ed. W. Dauney, *Ancient
Scottish Melodies*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1838, p. 49 (in "Pre-
liminary Dissertation").
- ✓ 11. ffor my pastyme vpon a day.
Ms. Roy. App. 58, c. 1500-1510. Edd. Ritson, *Ans. Songs*, p. lxxv;
Chappell, *Old Engl. Pop. Music*, I. p. 38; Furnivall, *Captain Cox*,
p. clii; Flügel, *Anglia*, XII. p. 259; Padelford, *XVI. Cent. Lyrics*,
p. 83.
- ✓ 12. Furth ouer the mold at morrow as I ment.
Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Ed. *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 774. Colophon: -
"Finis quod Stewart."
- ✓ 13. Good awdience, harken to me in this cace.
Line 3: "As I passyd by a sartayn place."
Ms. Ashmole 48, *sæc.* xvi, middle. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Ball.* -
Roxb. Club, p. 129. Colophon: "Finis, quod J. Wallya."

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14. Hay how the mavys/on a brere.

Ms. Addit. 5665, *sæc.* xvi, beg. Ed. Fehr, *Herrig's Archiv*, cvl. p. 284. (Cf. Padelford, *ibid.*, cxix. p. 427, No. 98.)

Howe shulde I be so plesunte, etc. (burden prefixed to A 33).

15. I hard lately to a ladye.

Ms. Ashmole 48, *sæc.* xvi, middle. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Ball.* Roxb. Club, p. 28. Colophon: "Fynis, quoth G. F."

I haue loued so many a day, etc. (burden prefixed to A 38, q. v.).

16. In a fryht as y con fere fremede.

Ms. Harl. 2253, c. 1310. Edd. Wright, *Spec. Lyr. Poetry*, p. 36; Bøddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.* p. 158, W. L. vi.

17. In a garden vnderneath a tree.

Ms. Ashmole 176, *sæc.* xvi. Ed. Appendix A, No. i.

18. In a sartayn place apoyntyd for pleasur.

Ms. Ashmole 48, *sæc.* xvi, middle. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Ball.* Roxb. Club, p. 133. Colophon: "Finis, quod John Wallas."

19. In an arber of honor, set full quadrant.

Ms. Ashmole 48, *sæc.* xvi, middle. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Ball.* Roxb. Club, p. 136. Colophon: "Fynys, quod Johan Wallas."

20. In Bowdoun, on blak monunday.

Ms. Maitland, c. 1570-1590. Edd. Pinkerton, *Anc. Scot. Poems*, i. p. 135; Sibbald, *Chron. Scot. Poetry*, iii. p. 195. Colophon: "Quod Clappertoun."

In Lauderdale I chane'd to walk. Cf. 8 (version B).

21. In May in a morning, I movit me one.

Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Ed. *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 647.

22. In may whan euery herte is lyjt/And flourys frosschely sprede & sprynge.

Ms. Cambr. Gg. 4. 27, c. 1400. Ed. E. P. Hammond, *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Philol.* vii. p. 105.

23. In secreit place this hyndir nycht.

Dunbar, *Scot. Text. Soc.* ii. p. 247.

24. In somer quhen flouris will smell.

Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Ed. Sibbald, *Chron. Scot. Poetry*, iii. p. 203; *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 399.

25. In þe (ye) begynnyng off thys yere.

Ms. Roy. App. 58, c. 1500-1510. Ed. Flügel, *Anglia*, xii. p. 265.

26. In the forest of noyous hevynes.

Ms. Harl. 682, *sæc.* xv. Ed. Taylor, *Poems, Written in English, by Charles, Duke of Orleans*, Roxburghe Club, London, 1827, p. 105. Translated from Charles d'Orléans (ed. d'Héricault, I. p. 82); the translator, according to Professor MacCracken (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xxvi. pp. 142 ff.) is probably the Duke of Suffolk, the English friend of Charles d'Orléans, to whom Professor MacCracken attributes also A 32 and A 46.

27. In wyldernes/there found y besse.

Ms. Addit. 5665, *sæc.* xvi, beg. Edd. Ritson, *Anc. Songs* (Ed. 1792), p. 122; Fehr, *Herrig's Archiv*, cvl. p. 283. (Cf. Padelford, *ibid.*, cxix. p. 427, Nos. 90-91.)

28. Into a mirthfull May morning.

John Forbes, *Cantus, Songs and Fancies, To Three, Four, or Five Parts* . . . The Third Edition, much enlarged and corrected. Printed in Aberdeen by John Forbes, . . . 1682. Reproduced for the New Club Series, Paisley, 1879, The III. Song. ("Evidently an English song of early date"; cf. *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, p. 270, note on R 23.)

29. Into a sweet May morning.

Ballad, *John of Hazelgreen*. Ed. Child, *Ballads*, No. 293 A. Versions B, C, and D, begin respectively: "It was on a morning early," "As I gaed out in a May morning," "As I went forth to take the air."

It was on a morning early. Cf. 29 (Version B).

30. Mosti ryden by rybbedalc.

Ms. Harl. 2253, o. 1310. Edd. Wright, *Spec. Lyr. Poetry*, p. 33; Bøddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.* p. 154, W. L. v.

31. My jorney lat as I dyd take.

Ms. Ashmole 48, *sæc.* xvi, middle. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Ball.* Roxb. Club, p. 97. Colophon: "*Finis*, quoth Harry Sponare."

Nay mary I nay maye mary, etc. (burden prefixed to A 25).

32. Not far fro marche, in the ende of feueryere.

Ms. Fairfax 16, *sæc.* xv, first half. Ed. MacCracken, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xxvi. p. 167, with the suggestion (p. 149) that the reference is to a political, not to an amorous, grievance; attributed to the Duke of Suffolk, *ibid.*, pp. 148 ff.

33. Not long agoo/it chaunsed soo.

Sir Thomas Wyatt, *Poetical Works*, Aldine Edition, London, n. d., p. 130; Padelford, *XVI. Cent. Lyrics*, p. 12.

No[w] spri[nke]s the sprai, etc. (burden prefixed to A 37).

- ✓ 34. Quhen Flora had ourfret þe firth.

Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Edd. Ramsay, *The Ever Green*, I. p. 256; Sibbald, *Chron. Scot. Poetry*, III. p. 160; Bann. MS. Hunt. Club, p. 621; *Poems of Alexander Scott*, Scot. Text. Soc. App. p. 188. Colophon (in *The Ever Green*): "Quod Stewart."

- ✓ 35. Quhen Tayis bank wes blumyt brycht.

Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Edd. Brydges and Haslewood, *The British Bibliographer*, London, 1810-1814, IV. p. 186; Laing, *Select Remains*, p. 220; Laing, *Early Pop. Poetry*, I. p. 169; Bann. MS. Hunt. Club, p. 660.

Quhy so strat strang go we by youe? (burden prefixed to A 10).

- ✓ 36. Still vndir þe levis greene.

Ms. Maitland, c. 1570-1590; this poem mentioned in *Complaint of Scotland*, 1549. Edd. Pinkerton, *Anc. Scot. Poems*, II. p. 205; Sibbald, *Chron. Scot. Poetry*, I. p. 201 (dated 1460-1488); Laing, *Early Pop. Poetry*, II. p. 34; Furnivall, *Captain Cox*, p. cl; G. G. Smith, *Specimens of Middle Scots*, Edinburgh and London, 1902, p. 64.

- ✓ 37. This endre dai als i me rode.

Ms. Hale 135, Lincoln's Inn; this entry c. 1303. Edd. Woodbine, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* IV. p. 236; Skeat, *ibid.*, V. p. 104.

- ✓ 38. þis ender day wen me was wo.

Ms. Addit. 5666, *sæc.* XIV-XV; a fragment, probably *sæc.* XV. Ed. Ritson, *Anc. Songs*, p. xlvii; copied in full, from the ms., above, p. 59.—Musical notes accompany the line, "I haue loued so many a day," quoted above as burden to A 38, and the line, "þis ender day," etc. Possibly the two lines are fragments of two separate songs, as Ritson suggests; but more probably they represent burden and song proper, as is indicated not only by their juxtaposition in the ms., but also by the close analogy that they offer to such songs as A 37.

This nyghtes rest, this nyghtes rest, etc. (burden prefixed to A 17).

- ✓ 39. This other day I hard a may.

Ms. Addit. 31,922, *sæc.* XVI, first half. Edd. Flügel, *Anglia*, XII. p. 236; Flügel, *Neuengl. Leseb.* p. 135; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 59.

- ✓ 40. Thys yonders nyght/I herd a wyght.

Ms. Roy. App. 58, c. 1500-1510. Ed. Flügel, *Anglia*, XII. p. 265.

- ✓ 41. Throughe a forest as I can ryde.

Ms. Rawl. C. 813, c. 1520-1540. Edd. Halliwell, *Nugæ Post.* p. 42 (where the ms. reference reads erroneously, "Rawl. C. 258");

Child, *Ballads*, No. 111, *Crow and Pie*; Padelford, *Anglia*, xxxi. p. 374.

- ✓ 42. Under ane brokin bank ane by.
Ms. Maitland, c. 1570-1590. Edd. Pinkerton, *Anc. Scot. Poems*, II. p. 200; Sibbald, *Chron. Scot. Poetry*, III. p. 197.
- ✓ 43. Vp y arose in verno tempore.
Ms. Addit. 5665, *sæc.* xvi, beg. Ed. Fehr, *Herrig's Archiv*, CVI. p. 284. (Cf. Padelford, *ibid.*, cxix. p. 427, No. 97.)—Ms. Ashmole 176, *sæc.* xvi. f. 98 b. Unprinted.
- ✓ 44. Upon a mornynge of May.
Ms. Harl. 1317, *sæc.* xvi. first half. Ed. *Rel. Ant.* II. p. 39.
- ✓ 45. Upon the Midsummer ewin, mirriest of nichtis.
Dunbar, *Scot. Text Soc.* II. p. 30.
- ✓ 46. Walkyng allon, of wyt full desolat.
Ms. Fairfax 16, *sæc.* xv, first half. Ed. MacCracken, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xxvi. p. 163; attributed to the Duke of Suffolk, *ibid.*, pp. 148 ff.
Wep no more for me, swethart, etc. (burden prefixed to A 44).

R (RELIGIOUS)

1. All under the leaves, and the leaves of life.
Traditional carol. Edd. Bullen, *Carols and Poems*, London, 1886, p. xxiii; *Oxford Bk. of Engl. Verse*, 1907, No. 382; *Oxford Bk. of Ballads*, 1910, No. 111; Rickert, *Carols*, p. 145; etc.
Alone, alone, alone, alone, etc. (burden prefixed to R 6).
2. And by a chapell as y came.
Ms. Porkington 10, c. 1460. Ed. Appendix A, No. II.
3. As I cam (? walkyng) by þe way.
Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* xvi, first half. Edd. Flügel, *Engl. Weihnachtslieder*, p. 81; Flügel, *Anglia*, xxvi. p. 267 (cf. Holthausen, *Anglia*, xvii. pp. 443 f.); Pollard, *XV. Cent. Prose and Verse*, p. 94; Dybowski, *Ball. MS.* 354, p. 48; Rickert, *Carols*, p. 102.
4. As I me lenyd unto a joyful place.
Ms. Harl. 2251, *sæc.* xv. Ed. Halliwell, *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, p. 78.—Ms. Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 21 (James's No. 601), *sæc.* xv; two copies, ff. 196 b, 245 b. Unprinted.

5. As I me ros in on morwenyng.

Ms. Sloane 2593, c. 1450. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club, p. 48.—Ms. Bodl. Engl. Poet. e. 1, *sæc.* xv, second half; beg., "As I up ros in a mornynge." Ed. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Percy Soc. p. 50; Rickert, *Carols*, p. 68; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 141 (a text combined from mss. Bodl. and Sloane).—Ms. Addit. 25,478, *sæc.* xix, f. 27 (a transcript evidently from ms. Bodl.). Unprinted.

6. As I me walkyd this endurs day.

Ms. Addit. 5465, c. 1500. Ed. Fehr, *Herrig's Archiv*, cvi. p. 59 (cf. Padelford, *ibid.*, cxix. p. 425, No. xxxi.).

7. As I me went pis ender day.

Ms. Harl. 2330, *sæc.* xv. Ed. Appendix A, No. iii.

8. As I out rode this enderes night.

(Song from the Nativity Play, Pageant of Shearmen and Tailors, written before 1500, revised 1534.) Ed. Pollard, *XV. Cent. Prose and Verse*, p. 272; Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. LXXXVII, 1902, pp. 31 f.; Rickert, *Carols*, p. 99.

9. As I pass'd by a river side.

Traditional carol, *The Carnal and the Crane*. Ed. Child, *Ballads*, No. 55; etc.

As I up ros in a mornynge. Cf. 5 (Bodl. version).

10. As I went þrow a gardyn grene.

Ms. Sloane 2593, c. 1450. Edd. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club, p. 53; Fehr, *Herrig's Archiv*, cix. p. 58 (cf. Padelford, *ibid.*, cxix. p. 429, No. xli); Rickert, *Carols*, p. 174.—Ms. Advoc. Libr. Edinb. Jac. v. 7. 27, *sæc.* xv; beg., "I passud thorow a garden grene." Ed. Turnbull, *Visions of Tundale*, p. 157.

As Ihesu rewlith myn reccheles mynde. Cf. 11 (Rawl. version).

11. As resoun rewlid my richelees mynde.

a. Ms. Lambeth 853, c. 1430. Ed. *Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, p. 233.

b. Ms. Harl. 3954, c. 1420. Ed. *ibid.*, p. 238.

c. Ms. Douce 78, *sæc.* xv. f. 3 a. Unprinted.

d. Ms. Rawl. C. 86, *sæc.* xvi, first half, f. 74 b; beg., "As Ihesu rewlith myn reccheles mynde." Unprinted.

On versions a and b, cf. Jacoby, *Vier Mittelengl. Geistl. Gedichte*, Berlin, n. d. (! 1890) p. 31; Crowne, "M. Engl. Poems on Joys and Compassion of Mary," *Catholic Univ. Bull.* viii. p. 315; Thien, *Über die Engl. Marienklagen*, Kiel, 1906, pp. 14, 68 ff.; Taylor, "The Engl. *Planctus Mariae*," *Mod. Philol.* iv. pp. 609 f., 619 f., 633 f.

12. As þat I walkid in the monthe of May.
Hoccleve's Works. I. The Minor Poems. Ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. Lxi. 1892, p. 67. (Translation of a French poem of which an extract is printed, *Rom.* viii. pp. 335 f.)
13. Ase y me rod þis ender day.
 Ms. Harl. 2253, c. 1310. Edd. Wright, *Spec. Lyr. Poetry*, p. 94; Bøddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.* p. 217, G. L. xiv.
14. Atween mydnyht and the fressh morwe gray.
 Lydgate, Ed. MacCracken, i. p. 268.
15. By one foreste as I cone ryde.
 Line 7 of poem beg., "Lovely lordynges, ladys lyke." Ms. Porkington 10, c. 1460. Ed. Halliwell, *Early Engl. Misc.* p. 1.
16. Downe by þone riuer I ran.
 Religious ballad, *sæc.* xvi, probably first half. Ed. *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, p. 168.
17. From petres bourh in o morewenyng.
 Line 11 of poem beg., "Nou skrinkeþ rose & lylle flour." Ms. Harl. 2253, c. 1310. Edd. Wright, *Spec. Lyr. Poetry*, p. 87; Bøddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.* p. 212, G. L. xii; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 97; Patterson, *M. Engl. Pen. Lyric*, p. 98.
 I passud thorow a garden grene. Cf. 10 (Advoc. Libr. Edinb. version).
 Iesu crist, heouene kyng (line 1 of R 25).
18. In a chirche as I gan knele.
 Ms. Rawl. C. 86, *sæc.* xvi, beg. Ed. Appendix A, No. iv, Version A.—Ms. Ashmole 61, *sæc.* xv, end. Ed. *ibid.*, No. iv, Version B.
 The same poem without narrative preface, occurs in mss. Cambr. Ff. 2. 38 and Ff. 5. 48, both *sæc.* xv; edd. Wright, *Chester Plays*, ii. p. 207, and *Rel. Ant.* ii. p. 213, respectively; discussed by Jacoby, pp. 30 f., Crowne, p. 315, Thien, pp. 17 f., Taylor, p. 610 (cf. on R 11). Both Cambr. texts omit strophes 1-3 of R 18, but have two strophes (Cambr. str. 5, 7) that are lacking in R 18; neither Cambr. text changes the refrain from, "Now lith here dede my dere sonne dere" to "ffor þy sonne dyde, my dere sonne dere," after str. 1, as do both versions of R 18; both Cambr. texts agree in a strophe order different from that of R 18.
19. In a valey of þis restles mynde.
 Ms. Lambeth 853, c. 1430. Ed. *Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, p. 180; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 151 (extracts.)—Ms. Cambr. Hh. 4. 12, *sæc.* xv, second half; beg., "In the vaille of restles mynd." Ed. *Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, p. 181.

20. In May as that Aurora did vpspring.
Dunbar, Scot. Text Soc. II. p. 174.
21. In somer bi-fore þe ascenciun.
Ms. Vernon, c. 1370. Ed. *Minor Poems Vernon MS.* II. p. 733; Pat-
terson, *M. Engl. Pen. Lyric*, p. 125.—Ms. Addit. 22,283, c. 1380-1400.
Unprinted. (Noted by Varnhagen, *Anglia*, VII. p. 281, No. 26.)
22. In sommer tyme I dyd prepaire.
Ms. Cott. Vesp. A. xxv, *sæc.* xvi, second half. Ed. Bøddeker, *Jb. f.*
rom. u. engl. Spr. u. Lit. N. F. III. p. 103.
In the vaile of restles mynd. Cf. 19 (Cambr. version).
23. In till ane myrthfull Maij morning.
Religious ballad, *sæc.* xvi, probably first half. Ed. *Gude and Godlie*
Ballatis, p. 137.
24. Late as I wente on myn pleyng.
Ms. Rawl. C. 86, *sæc.* xvi, beg. Ed. Appendix A, No. v.—A portion
of this poem (str. 2, ll. 2-8, str. 3, 5) exists in Douce Fragm. f. 48
(formerly Douce Fragm. 94), fol. 2, ascribed by Proctor (*Notes of*
Early Printed Fragm. in the Bodl.) to the press of W. Copland,
c. 1550. Flügel (*Anglia*, XII. pp. 585 ff.) does not mention these
strophes in his account of the fragment.
Lay lay lulay lay, my dere moder lullay (burden prefixed to
R 7).
Lovely lordynges, ladys lyke (line 1 of R 15).
Man, meve thy mynd, & joy this fest, etc. (burden pre-
fixed to R 3).
Mery hyt ys in may mornyng, etc. (burden prefixed to R 2).
Moder qwyt as lylie flour (burden prefixed to R 5).
Nou skrinkeþ rose & lylie flour (line 1 of R 17).
Nowel, nowel, nowel, syng we with myrth, etc. (burden pre-
fixed to R 26).
25. þis enderday in o morewenyng.
Line 10 of poem beg., "Iesu crist, heouene kyng." Ms. Harl. 2253,
c. 1310. Edd. Wright, *Spec. Lyr. Poetry*, p. 59; Bøddeker, *Altengl.*
Dicht. p. 193, G. L. v; Patterson, *M. Engl. Pen. Lyric*, p. 88.
26. Under a tre, in sportyng me.
Ms. Bodl. Engl. Poet. e. 1, *sæc.* xv, second half. Edd. Wright, *Songs*
and Carols, Percy Soc. p. 73; Rickert, *Carols*, p. 20.—Ms. Addit.
25,478, f. 33 b, *sæc.* XIX (a transcript evidently from Ms. Bodl.).
Unprinted.

27. Whan Dame Flora/In die aurora.

The Armonye of Byrdes. Ed. John Wight, prob. c. 1551-1559; Re-edd. Collier, Percy Soc. vii; W. C. Hazlitt, *Remains of Early Pop. Poetry of Engl.* London, 1864-1866, iii. p. 184.

D (DIDACTIO)

Allone as I went vp and doun. Cf. 13 b.

1. Ane eight man twyss fourty yeiris.

Kennedy. Mss. Bannatyne, 1568; Maitland, c. 1570-1590. Edd. Ramsay, *The Ever Green*, i. p. 115; Sibbald, *Chron. Scot. Poetry*, i. p. 363; Dunbar, ed. Laing, ii. p. 91; *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 780.

2. As I cam by a forrest syde.

a. ms. Porkington 10, c. 1460. Ed. Appendix A, No. vi.
b. ms. Bannatyne, 1568; beg., "Doun by ane rever as I red." Edd. Dunbar, ed. Laing, ii. p. 51; *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 133; Dunbar, Scot. Text Soc. ii. p. 305, among "Poems Attributed to Dunbar."

3. As I fared in a frith.

Ms. Harl. 1704, *sæc.* xv. Ed. Appendix A, No. vii.

4. As I fared thorow a forest free.

Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* xvi, first half. Edd. Flügel, *Anglia*, xxvi. p. 207; Dyboski, *Ball. MS.* 354, p. 88.

5. As I me lend to a lend.

Ms. Sloane 2593, c. 1450. Edd. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club, p. 96; Fehr, Herrig's *Archiv*, cvii. p. 50 (cf. Padelford, *ibid.*, cxix. p. 427, No. 33 a).

As I me walked in on mornying. Cf. 9 b.

6. As I stod in a ryalle haulle.

Ms. Porkington 10, c. 1460. Ed. Halliwell, *Early Engl. Misc.* p. 62.

7. As I walkyd apou a day.

Ms. Cambr. Ff. 1. 6, *sæc.* xv. Edd. Halliwell, *Nugæ Poet.* p. 64; *Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, p. 244.—Ms. Hawkins (cf. Phillipps sub. cat. 1895, p. 67; Brydges, *Censura Literaria*, Ed. 1815, i. pp. 136-137). Ed. Brydges, *ibid.*, x. p. 150.—Ms. Addit. 11,907, f. 121 (transcript by Haslewood, evidently from ms. Hawkins). Unprinted.—Ms. Sloane 747, *sæc.* xv, end, f. 95; beg., "As y can walke vpon a day." Unprinted.

As I walked here by west. Cf. 8 (Balliol version).

8. As I wandrede her bi weste.

Ms. Vernon, c. 1370. Edd. Varnhagen, *Anglia*, vii. p. 313; *Minor Poems Vernon MS.* ii. p. 696; Patterson, *M. Engl. Pen. Lyric*, p. 54.—Ms. Addit. 22,283 (Simeon), c. 1380-1400. Collated with Vernon, Varnhagen, *l. c.*—Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* xvi, first half; beg., "As I walked here by west." Edd. Flügel, *Anglia*, xxvi. p. 160; Dyboski, *Ball. MS. 354*, p. 54.

9. As I went in a mery mornynge.

a. Ms. Bodl. Engl. Poet. e. 1, *sæc.* xv, second half. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Percy Soc. p. 57; Flügel, *Anglia*, xxvi. p. 192; Patterson, *M. Engl. Pen. Lyric*, p. 102.

b. Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* xvi, first half; beg., "As I me walked in on mornynge." Ed. Flügel, *ibid.*, p. 191; Dyboski, *Ball. MS. 354*, p. 3; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 150.

c. Ms. Bodl. Engl. Poet. e. 1; beg., "As I went me fore to solase." Ed. Wright, *ibid.*, p. 74; Flügel, *ibid.*, p. 193; Patterson, *ibid.*, p. 100.

As I went me fore to solase. Cf. 9 c.

As I went one my playing. Cf. 10 b.

As y can walke vpon a day. Cf. 7 (Sloane version).

10. As y gan wandre in my walkinge.

a. Ms. Lambeth 853, c. 1430. Ed. *Hymns to V. and C.* p. 83.

b. Ms. Porkington 10, *sæc.* xv, second half; beg., "As I went one my playing." Ed. Halliwell, *Early Engl. Misc.* p. 9.

11. At a sarmoun per I seet.

Ms. Vernon, c. 1370. Ed. *Minor Poems Vernon MS.* ii. p. 476.—Ms. Addit. 22,283 (Simeon), c. 1380-1400, f. 90 b. Unprinted.

12. Bi a forest as y gan walke.

Ms. Lambeth 853, c. 1430. Ed. *Hymns to V. and C.* p. 95.—Ms. Porkington 10, *sæc.* xv, second half, f. 203. Unprinted.—Ms. Addit. 31,042, *sæc.* xv, f. 122 b; beg., "By one foreste als I gan walke." Unprinted.

13. Bi a wey wandryng as I went.

a. Ms. Vernon, c. 1370. Edd. Varnhagen, *Anglia*, vii. p. 306; *Minor Poems Vernon MS.* ii. p. 688.—Ms. Addit. 22,283 (Simeon), c. 1380-1400. Collated with Vernon, Varnhagen, *l. c.*—Ms. Ashmole 343, *sæc.* xv, beg., f. 169. Unprinted.¹—Ms. Sloane 2593, c. 1450. Edd. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club, p. 56; Fehr, *Herrig's Archiv*, cix. p. 59 (cf. Padelford, *ibid.*, cxix. p. 429, No. XLII).—Ms. Cott. Calig. A. ii. *sæc.* xv. Ed. Halliwell, *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, p. 225.—Princeton Univ. ms. Garrett, *sæc.* xv, first half. Ed. Root, *Engl. Stud.* xli. p. 374.—Ms. Trin. Coll. Cambr. O. 9. 38 (James's No. 1450), *sæc.* xv. f. 25 b. Unprinted.¹

¹ Pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown.

b. *The Abbey Walk*; beg., "Allone as I went vp and doun." Henryson, Scot. Text Soc. III. pp. 126 ff.

14. Bi a wode as I gon ryde.

a. Ms. Vernon, c. 1370. Ed. *Minor Poems Vernon MS.* II. p. 727.—Ms. Addit. 22,283 (Simeon), c. 1380-1400. Unprinted. (Noted by Varnhagen, *Anglia*, VII. p. 281, No. 24.)

b. Ms. Cott. Calig. A. II. sæc. xv; beg., "By a wylde wodes syde." Ed. Halliwell, *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, p. 228.—Princeton Univ. ms. Garrett, sæc. xv, first half; beg., "Be a wild wodis side." Ed. Root, *Engl. Stud.* XLI. p. 376.

15. Bi west, vnder a wylde wode-syde.

Ms. Vernon, c. 1370. Edd. Varnhagen, *Anglia*, VII. p. 282; *Minor Poems Vernon MS.* II. p. 658; collated with Addit. 22,283, Furnivall, *Early Engl. Poems*, p. 118.—Ms. Addit. 22,283 (Simeon), c. 1380-1400. Edd. Furnivall, l. c.; collated with Vernon, Varnhagen, l. c.—Ms. Addit. 31,042, sæc. xv. f. 123 b. Unprinted.

By a fforest as I gan ryde. Cf. 16 b.

16. By a forest syde, walkyng as I went.

a. Ms. Douce 322, sæc. xv. Ed. *Twenty-six Poems*, p. 143.—Ms. Harl. 1706, sæc. xv. f. 16. Unprinted.—Ms. Roy. 18. A. X. sæc. xv. f. 119 b. Unprinted.—Ms. Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 21 (James's No. 601), sæc. xv. f. 34. Unprinted.—Ms. Trin. Coll. Cambr. O. 9. 38 (James's No. 1450), sæc. xv. f. 24. Unprinted.—Ms. Bodl. 596, sæc. xv. f. 21 b. Unprinted.

b. Ms. Stonyhurst 23 (cited as Ms. 26, *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* II. App. p. 145), sæc. xv (ascribed to xiv, end, or xv, beg., in the modern index); f. 61 b; beg., "By a fforest as I gan ryde." Unprinted.

c. Ms. Harl. 2380, sæc. xvi. f. 72 b; beg., "Thurght a forest als I went." Unprinted.¹

By (be) a wylde wodes syde. Cf. 14 b (Cott. and Garrett versions).

By one foreste als I gan walke. Cf. 12 (Addit. version).

Doun be ane rever as I red. Cf. 2 b.

Evere more where so euer I be, etc. (burden prefixed to 9 c).

17. Furth throw ane forrest as I fure.

Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Ed. *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 118.

¹ Mss. Harl., Royal, and Trin. Coll. Cambr. were pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown; for a transcript of ms. Stonyhurst, with notes on the ms., I am indebted to the kindness of Father William Bodkin, S. J., Rector of Stonyhurst College.

18. Furth throcht yone finest [*sic*].

Line 13 of poem beg., "Wa is the man that wantis." Registers, Charter Room, City of Aberdeen. Verses inserted apparently by Walter Cullen (b. 1526). Ed. *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, Aberdeen, 1841-1853, II. (1842), p. xxvii, n. 1; cf. pp. xxii, xxix. Colophon: "*Finis quod Nicolsoun*."—The first twelve lines are apparently intended as a kind of text for the adventure-poem; cf. ll. 11-12: "Wo is the man that . . . hes na gold nor geir to spend," with the poem proper, ll. 13-14: "Quhat wantis thow . . . gold or geir to the ending day?"

19. I herd a playnt of grete pyte.

Ms. Harl. 5396, *sæc.* xv. Ed. *Rel. Ant.* I. p. 77.

20. I see a rybaun ryche and newe.

Ms. Cott. Calig. A. II. *sæc.* xv. Ed. Halliwell, *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, p. 222.—Ms. Bannatyne, 1568; beg., "I saw ane rob riche of hew." Ed. *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 225.

I saw ane rob riche of hew. Cf. 20 (Bann. version).

21. In a chambre as I stode.

Ms. Rawl. poet. 36, *sæc.* xv, second half. Ed. Appendix A, No. VIII.

22. In a chirche, þer I con knel.

a. Ms. Vernon, c. 1370. Edd. Varnhagen, *Anglia*, VII. p. 287; *Minor Poems Vernon MS.* II. p. 664.—Ms. Addit. 22,283 (Simeon), c. 1380-1400. Ed. Furnivall, *Early Engl. Poems*, p. 124; collated with Vernon, Varnhagen, l. c.

b. Ms. Advoc. Libr. Edinb. Jac. v. 7. 27, *sæc.* xv; beg., "In a kyrke as [I] can knele." Ed. Turnbull, *Visions of Tundale*, p. 161.

In a kyrke as [I] can knele. Cf. 22 b.

23. In a moruenyng of Maye whenne medowes salle spryng.

Ms. Addit. 31,042, *sæc.* xv. Ed. Gollancz, in *An Engl. Misc. Presented to Dr. Furnivall*, Oxford, 1901, p. 112, as *The Quatrefoil of Love*.—Ms. Bodl. Add. A. 106, *sæc.* xv (later than Addit. 31,042). Collated with Addit. 31,042, Gollancz, l. c.—Early print, apparently from a slightly variant copy, by Wynkyn de Worde, n. d. (c. 1501-1535), with the title, *The iiii leues of the true-loue*. Formerly in the Heber and Corser Libraries; now in the Huth Library (cf. Hazlitt, *Handbk. to Pop. Poet. and Dram. Lit.*, 1867, p. 349; *The Huth Libr. Catal. of Printed Bks. MSS. etc.*, 1880, II. pp. 538 f.; Duff, etc., *Hand Lists of Engl. Printers*, 1501-1556. Pt. I. Wynkyn de Worde, etc., 1895, p. 22. Summary and extracts given by Collier, *Bibl. and Crit. Account of Rarest Bks.*, 1865, I. p. 293.

24. In a noon tijd of a somers day.

Ms. Lambeth 853, c. 1430. Ed. *Hymns to V and C.* p. 91.—Ms. Trin. Coll. Cambr. O. 9. 38 (James's No. 1450), *sæc.* xv. f. 22; beg., "Yn

- a noone hets of somer day." Unprinted.¹—Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* xvi, first half; beg., "In a tyme of a somers day." Edd. Flügel, *Anglia*, xxvi. p. 168; Dyboski, *Ball. MS. 354*, p. 80; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 195.
25. In a semely someres tyde.
Ms. Addit. 32,578, *sæc.* xv, first half. Ed. Hulme, *M. Engl. Harrowing of Hell*, E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. C. 1907, p. xxx.
In a tyme of a somers day. Cf. 24 (Balliol version).
26. In blossommed buske I bode boote.
Ms. Digby 102, *sæc.* xv, first half; this poem c. 1400. Ed. *Twenty-six Poems*, p. 6.
27. In tyl ane garth, wndir ane reid rosier.
Henryson, Scot. Text Soc. III. pp. 106 ff. Versions B, C, D beg., "Wythin a garth," etc.
In what estate so euer I be, etc. (burden prefixed to D 9 a, b).
28. Late whane Aurora of Tytane toke leve.
Lydgate. Unprinted. (To appear in Lydgate, Ed. MacCracken, II. E. E. T. S., Extra Ser.; cf. I. p. xvii, No. 46).—Variant of ll. 1-12 in the ms. beg., "Whane Aurora toke of Tytan hir leve."
29. Lettres of gold writtin I fand.
Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Ed. *Bann. MS. Hunt. Club*, p. 138. Colophon: "*Finis quod Wa[iter] Broun.*"
Man, beware and wyse in dede (burden prefixed to D 35).
30. On a dere day, by a dale so depe.
Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* xvi, first half. Edd. Flügel, *Anglia*, xxvi. p. 180; Dyboski, *Ball. MS. 354*, p. 84.
31. Quhen fair flora, þe goddas of al flowris.
Henryson, Scot. Text Soc. III. pp. 114 ff.
32. Quhen Phebus in the ranie cloude.
Ms. Maitland, c. 1570-1590. Ed. Pinkerton, *Anc. Scot. Poems*, p. 192.
Thorow a forest þat was so longe. Cf. 35 (Balliol version).
Thurght a forest als I went. Cf. 16 c.
33. Throwe a towne as y com ryde.
Ms. Trin. Coll. Cambr. O. 9. 38 (James's No. 1450), *sæc.* xv. Ed. Appendix A, No. ix.

¹Pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown.

34. Toward Aurora in the monyth of decembre.

Lydgate. Unprinted. (To appear in Lydgate, Ed. MacCracken, II. E. E. T. S., Extra Ser.; cf. I. p. xxxi, No. 160).

35. Under a forest that was so long.

Ms. Bodl. Engl. Poet. e. l. *sæc.* xv, second half. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Percy Soc. p. 28; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 193.—Ms. Addit. 25,478, *sæc.* xix, f. 50 (a transcript evidently from Ms. Bodl.). Unprinted.—Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* xvi, first half; beg., "Thorow a forest þat was so longe." Ed. Flügel, *Anglia*, xxvi. p. 267; Dyboski, *Ball. MS.* 354, p. 47.

Wa is the man that wantis (line 1 of D 18).

36. Walking allone amang thir levis grene.

Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Ed. *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 145.

37. Whan that phebus beemes schynyng as golde.

Ms. Cott. Cleop. C. iv. *sæc.* xv. Ed. Appendix A, No. x.

Whane Aurora toke of Tytan hir leve. Cf. 28 (variant copy of ll. 1-12).

Wythin a garth, vnder a rede rosere. Cf. 27 (Versions B, C, D).

Yn a noone hete of somer day. Cf. 24 (Trin. Coll. Cambr. version).

M (MISCELLANEOUS)

1. Als I me sat my self allon.

Ms. Egerton 1624, c. 1470 (?). Ed. Furnivall, *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, etc., E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. viii, 1869, p. 86.

2. Als y yod on ay Mounday.

a. Ms. Cott. Jul. A. v. *sæc.* xiv. Edd. Ritson, *Anc. Songs*, p. 35; Finlay, *Scottish Ballads*, II. p. 168; *Retrospective Review*, Second Series, II. p. 326; Wright, *Chron. of Pierre de Langtoft* (Rolls Series), II. p. 452; Child, *Ballads*, No. 38, Appendix (extract). b. Ballad, *The Wee Wee Man*. Ed. Child, *Ballads*, No. 38; beg., "As I was wa'king all alone (by my lane, mine alone), / Between a water and a wa," Versions A, B, E, F; Versions C, D, and G begin respectively: "Twas down by Carterhaugh, father," and "As I gaed out to tak a walk (tak the air)."—Child points out the relation existing between the early poem and the ballad, but finds "no reason for deriving the ballad from the poem."

3. As I came by a grene forest syde.

Contained in the fragment, formerly Douce Fragm. 94 b, but now Rawlinson 4to 598 (10), of Wynkyn de Worde's *Christmasse*

- Carolles*, 1521. Edd. Haslewood, *Lit. Researches into Hist. of Bk. of St. Alban's*, London, 1810, p. 58; Flügel, *Anglia*, XII. p. 587 and XXVI. p. 194; Flügel, *Neuengl. Leseb.* p. 151; Padelford, *XVI. Cent. Lyrics*, p. 75; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 245; Dyboski, *Ball. MS. 354*, p. 186; Rickert, *Carols*, p. 139.—Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* XVI, first half; beg., "As I walked by a florest side." Edd. Flügel, *Anglia*, XXVI. p. 194; Padelford, *ibid.*, p. 138; Dyboski, *ibid.*, p. 103.
4. As I gan wandre in on evynyng.
Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* XVI, first half. Ed. Flügel, *Anglia*, XXVI. p. 169; Dyboski, *Ball. MS. 354*, p. 81.
5. As I me walked ouer feldis wide.
Ms. Lansdowne 762; this poem c. 1500. Ed. Skeat, *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 30, 1867, p. 69.
6. As I stode yn a parke streyght vpe by a tree.
Ms. Rawl. C. 813, c. 1520-1540. Ed. Padelford, *Anglia*, XXXI. p. 350.—Ms. Cott. Jul. A. v, *sæc.* XVI, probably second half, f. 131 b (old no. 126 b). Unprinted.—Early Print, Bodleian Library, *Wyl bucke his Testament*. Imprinted at London by Wyllam [sic] Copland (fl. 1550-1560) n. d. Reprinted by Haslewood, 1827, private circ.; Halliwell, *Lit. of XVI. and XVII. Cent. Illustrated*, private circ., London, 1851, p. 51. Copland's print presents the verse testament as preface to a prose treatise under the title, *To make .iii. courses of a Bucke, or of a Doo*; in a transitional strophe not found in the ms. copies, the dying buck directs the poet to make in his memory a feast "Of Will buckes sonne, and that of cowerses thre." Colophon of prose treatise: "*Finis. quod. Iohn Lacy.*"
7. As I walked alone,/and mused on thynges.
Of Abbayes, Crowley's *Epigrammes*, 1550. Ed. Cowper, *Select Works of Robert Crowley*, E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. xv, 1872, p. 7.
As I walked by a florest side. Cf. 3 (Balliol version).
8. As I walked of late by one wood side.
Percy Folio ms. c. 1650. Ed. Percy, *Reliques*, first edition, 1765, II. Bk. 3, No. 1, p. 259 (270); *Percy Folio MS.* II. p. 174 (183).
As I was wa'king all alone/Between a water and a wa.
Cf. 2 b.
9. As I was walking all alane,/I heard twa corbies making
a mane.
Ballad, *The Twa Corbies*. Ed. Child, *Ballads*, No. 26.
10. As I went on ȝol day.
Ms. Sloane 2593, c. 1450. Edd. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, 1836, no. xx; Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club, p. 100; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 220.

11. Be a wildernes/As I did passe.

Ms. Corporation of Tenterden, oldest Record Book; this entry apparently c. 1535-1541. Ed. Appendix A, No. xi. (Padelford includes what is apparently a reference to this secular lament in a list of religious laments, XVI. *Cent. Lyrics*, p. xlii, note.)

12. Bi a forrest as I gane fare.

a. Ms. Porkington 10, c. 1460. Ed. Halliwell, *Early Engl. Misc.* p. 43.

b. Ms. Cambr. Ff. 5, 48, *sæc.* xv; beg., "Ffer in frithe as I can fare." Ed. Hartshorne, *Ancient Metr. Tales*, London, 1829, p. 165.

13. By a banke as I ley/musyng in my mynd/on thyngs that were past.

Wynkyn de Worde's *Song Booke*, 1530. Edd. Flügel, *Anglia*, xii. p. 597; *Neuengl. Leseb.* p. 161; Imelmann, *Shak. Jb.* xxxix. p. 136. (Cf. an adaptation of this song and of A 7 in honour of James I., in Ravenscroft's *Deuteromelia*, 1609, beg., "By a bancke as I lay / musing on a thing that was past and gone, hey how." Edd. Chappell, *Old Engl. Pop. Music*, i. p. 49; Rimbault, *Little Book*, p. 55.

14. Erly in a sommeristide.

Ms. Lambeth 306; this poem c. 1465. Ed. *Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, p. 1.

Ffer in frithe as I can fare. Cf. 12 b.

15. I herde a carpyng of a clerk.

Ms. Sloane 2593, c. 1450. Edd. Ritson, *Anc. Songs*, p. 71; Wright, *Songs and Carols*, 1836, No. x; Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club, p. 42; Child, *Ballads*, No. 115.

16. In a ffresshe mornying among the flowrys.

Ms. Harl. 2252; this poem not before 1536. Edd. Furnivall and Morfill, *Ballads from MSS.* Ballad Soc. London and Hertford, 1868-1873, i. p. 402 (409); Flügel, *Neuengl. Leseb.* p. 165.

17. In a gloriuſ garden grene.

Ms. Addit. 5465, c. 1500. Edd. Rimbault, *Little Book*, No. 2, p. 24; Furnivall, *Captain Cox*, p. clix; Flügel, *Neuengl. Leseb.* p. 159.

18. In a mornying of May, as I lay on slepyng.

Ms. Cambr. Ff. 5, 48, *sæc.* xv. Ed. Halliwell, *Nugæ Poet.* p. 37.

19. In december, when the dayes draw to be short.

Ms. Harl. 372, f. 114; this poem, copied evidently from some other ms., dates c. 1550. Unprinted (?).—Percy's *Reliques*, first edition, 1765, II. Bk. 2, No. 3, p. 112 (129), where the poem is said to be "preserved in the Pepys collection, British Museum, and Strype's Mem. of Cranmer."

20. [In Ma]y whan euery herte is lyghte/[And f]ayre flourys
doth sprede *and* sprunge.¹

Ms. Harl. 3952, *sæc.* xv; this fragment probably c. 1483. Ed.
Appendix A, No. xii.

Kyrie, so kyrie, Jankyn syngyt merie, etc. (burden prefixed
to M 10).

21. Musing allone this hinder nicht.

Dunbar, Scot. Text Soc. II. p. 92.

Robyn lyȝth in grene wode bowndyn (burden prefixed to
M 15).

This day day dawes (burden prefixed to M 17).

22. Thorow out a palys as I gan passe.

Ms. Cambr. Hh. 4. 12, *sæc.* xv, second half; this poem c. 1441.
Ed. Hardwick, *Antiquarian Communications*, Cambr. Antiq. Soc.
Cambridge, 1859, I. p. 177.—Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* xvi, first half. Edd.
Wright, *Polit. Poems and Songs* (Rolls Series), London, 1859-1861,
II. p. 205; Flügel, *Anglia*, xxvi. p. 177; Dyboski, *Ball. MS. 354*,
p. 95.

23. When that Aurora illumynath lyȝht.

Ms. Addit. 18,752, *sæc.* xiv-xvi; this poem, *sæc.* xvi, before 1536.
Ed. Reed, *Anglia*, xxxiii. p. 346.

24. When the wyntar wynddys ar vanished away.

Ms. Ashmole 48, *sæc.* xvi. middle. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Ball.*
Roxb. Club, p. 145. Colophon: "*Finis, quod Johan Wallas.*"

¹ Pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown.

APPENDIX C

SUPPLEMENTARY REGISTER OF OTHER PIECES CITED IN THE DISCUSSION

[The pieces included are either Middle English poems comparable in certain features to the *chansons d'aventure*, or *chansons d'aventure* proper, dating later than 1550. The list is not exhaustive, but merely illustrative.]

A babe is born, to blys vs brynge/I hard a mayd lulley & syng (Dyboski, <i>Ball. MS. 354</i> , p. 21)	73n
[a] daye of may ffor my solas	34n
A Robyn/joly Robyn	57n
After mydnyght, when dremes dothe fawll	77n
All after pleasures as I rid one day	98
All in a garden green	57n
A-lone walkyng/and oft musing (Herrig's <i>Archiv</i> , cvii. p. 59, where Fehr prints "I loue walkyng," etc.)	92n
Alone walking, In thought pleyning	41n
Als j me wente pis Endres daye (<i>Thomas of Erceldoune</i>)	96-97
Ane fare sweit may of mony one	61n
As I heard tell this other yeere (<i>John the Reeve</i> , l. 7)	25n
As I me walked hard by a riueers side hey no no	58n
As I walked forth in a morninge tyde (<i>Shirburn Ballads</i> , p. 260)	98-99
As I went by an Hospital (<i>Bagford Ballads</i> , i. p. 24)	49n
As I went up a woodland walk	99
As thro' a gay wood I happened to pass (<i>Pilgrim's Gar-</i> <i>land</i> , p. 4)	49n
But late in place A pretye lasse	48n
By a bancke as I lay/musing on a thing that was past and gone, hey how	Appendix B, under M 13
Come over the woodes fair and green	57n, 61n, 65n

Downe Plumton Parke as I did passe (<i>Shirburn Ballads</i> , p. 20; refrain)	98-99
For þi self, man, þou may see ("How judicare come in crede")	82n
Here in this Song you may behold and see (preface to ballad, <i>Roxburghe Ballads</i> , II. p. 329)	44n
Hey, trolly loly lo, maid, whither go you?	57n, 61n, 65n
I hard a maydyn wepe/ffor here sonnys passyon	71n
I heard a mess of merry shepherds sing	73n
I loue walkyng/and oft musyng (cf. "A-lone walkyng/ and oft musing," above).	
I saw a fayr maydyn syttyn and synge	73n
I saw a swete semly syght (Rickert, <i>Carols</i> , p. 59)	24, 73n
I saw my lady weep(ing)	72n
In a tabernacle of a tour	24, 71n
In the merry moneth of May	98
Late in the morning, as I abroad was walking (<i>Roxburghe Ballads</i> , II. p. 329)	44n
Man, loke thou have this gys (Wright, <i>Songs and Carols</i> , Warton Club, p. 1)	82n
My feerful dreame neuyr forgete can I	71n
My self walkyng all allone (<i>Rel. Ant.</i> I. p. 26)	24, 41n
Not long agoe with bow in hande (poem on the "whyte")	63n
On a faire morning, as I came by the way	59n
So blessid a sight it was to see (Dyboski, <i>Ball MS.</i> 354, p. 23)	73n
Sodenly A-frayd, halfe wakyng, halfe slepyng (line 1 of "Who cannot wepe,")	71n
There was a maid this other day (<i>Mother Watkin's Ale</i>)	49n
To lodge yt was my lucke of late (line 1 of song with re- frain, "Downe Plumton Parke")	98-99
To see the maydyn wepe her sonnes passion (Dyboski, <i>Ball. MS.</i> 354, p. 41)	72n
There is a Child born of our blessed Virgin/I heard a Maid lullaby to sing (Sylvester, <i>Christmas Carols</i> , p. 41)	73n
Toward the ende of frosty January	82n
This endurs nyght/I sawe a syght	26n, 73n

þis endres nyght About mydayght [<i>sic</i>]	26n, 73n
This hundir þeir I hard be tald (<i>The Bludy Serk</i>)	25n
Thys indrys day befel a stryfe	52n
Undir a park ful prudently pyght	33n, 73n
Upon a holy Saintes Eve	80n, 98
When Hyems with his hory frostes (poem on "Robin redde-brest")	63n
When that byrdes be brought to rest	61n
Who cannot wepe	71n
Yt was my chance for to advance myself not long agoe	63n

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